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ARE THERE TOTEM-CLANS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT? 1

N the Journal of Philology, No. 17 (vol. ix, 1880), Professor Robertson Smith, the eminent Orientalist and Biblical critic, contributed a paper entitled "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Ancient Arabs and in the Old Testament" (pp. 75-100). In this he applied McLennan's views² to show that a tribal arrangement existed among the early Hebrews, analogous to the totemclans of the North American Indians, and gave reasons for considering David to be a member of a Serpent clan, worshipping the serpent as an eponymous ancestor and united by ties of kinship with other branches of the clan among the Ammonites. He also saw traces of totem-worship about the Temple even as late as the time of Ezekiel, and ingeniously explained the abstinence from unclean beasts, birds, and fishes among the Hebrews as survivals of totem-worship, since every member of a totem-clan religiously abstains from eating the eponymous animal, or only eats it euchar-Startling as-these applications are, they have found unusually ready acceptance among Biblical scholars3 and anthropologists. Prof. Cheyne, who is ordinarily very cautious, welcomes the suggestion in his admirable edition of *Isaiah* (i, 99; ii, 103-4, 303), and Prof. Sayce does the same (Anc. Empires of East, 203-5). Prof. Stade also adopts it in his Geschichte Israels (i, p. 408). The school of McLennan, who regard totemism as the earliest stage of the family,

¹ Parts of the following paper were read before the Society of Biblical Archæology in 1885.

² McLennan had already suggested the application of his theories to the Hebrews (*Fortnightly Review*, 1870, i, p. 207), but Professor Smith has the merit of developing the suggestion.

³ Professor Dillmann, however, rejects them rather cavalierly, *Genesis*⁴, p. 368.

have naturally welcomed confirmatory evidence from Semitic sources (J. F. McLennan, The Patriarchal Theory, 1885, p. 229); and Mr. Andrew Lang, who tends to find in animal worship the key to all the mythologies, refers to Professor Smith's memoir as undoubted evidence (Custom and Myth2, 1885, pp. 115, 261). Dr. Wilken, of Leyden, developed one side of the evidence so far as it relates to kinship through females among the early Arabs, founding himself on the results reached by Professor Robertson Smith (German translation, Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern, 1884).1 Prof. Smith has followed this up by an elaborate work on Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, 1885, in which, however, he does not deal again with the Biblical aspects of the question except incidentally. His paper in the Journal of Philology still remains the sole authoritative utterance of the Professor on the subject, and I deal with this in the following remarks, in which I shall endeavour to show that considerable caution must be observed before accepting Professor Smith's ingenious theories, at any rate in the unrestricted form in which he has posited them. Though I have widely extended the evidence by which his conclusions might seem to be established, I am unable to recognise definite traces of the actual existence of totem-worship and totemclans in historic times among the Israelites.

But first, what is a totem-clan? It is a collection of men and women who reckon themselves of the same kinship traced originally through their mothers only, who worship some animal or plant which they regard as their ancestor, and bear tattooed on their skin. All the members bear the totem-name, must seek mates in another clan, and must abstain from eating the totem-animal or plant, while they are all obliged to avenge injury done to one of their number. It will thus be seen that this organisation is of a highly complex nature, and it is à priori improbable that it would occur very widely, except among tribes closely connected with animals, i.e., nomads. Totemism, in the full sense of the word, is only known to exist among North American Indians and among the Australian tribes, where the totem is termed "kobong". One characteristic of the totem organisation deserves fuller treatment owing to its importance, and I cannot explain this better than in the words of Mr. Lang.

"Among races which are still in the totemistic stage, *i.e.*, which still claim descent from animals and from other objects, a peculiar

¹ The late Mr. Redhouse, however, disputed very warmly the validity of Wilken's views in the *Journ. R.A.S.*, 1885.

marriage law generally exists, or can be shown to have existed. No man may marry a woman who is descended from the same ancestral animal and who bears the same totem-name and carries the same badge or family crest as himself. A man descended from the Crane, and whose family name is Crane, cannot marry a woman whose family name is Crane. He must marry a woman of the Wolf, or Turtle, or Swan, or other name, and her children keep her family title, not his. Thus, if a Crane man marry a Swan woman, the children (boys) are Swans, and none of them may marry a Swan; they must marry Turtles, Wolves, or what not, and their children again are Turtles or Wolves. Thus there is necessarily an eternal come and go of all the animal-names known in a district." (A. Lang, Custom and Myth², p. 106.)

Now Prof. Smith claims, as I understand him, to have proved that totem-clans of a kind like those just described existed in Canaan and in Israel in historic times. That animal-gods were among the various forms of idolatry practised at various times by the Israelites, is a perfectly recognised fact: the golden calf, the brazen serpent, Dagon the fish-god, and Beelzebub the fly-god, are perhaps the most familiar figures in Biblical idolatry. The new points contributed by Professor Smith's paper are that these or similar gods were regarded as ancestors that gave names to clans, tracing descent through females. We must seek, therefore, for traces of all the above "notes" of totem-clans before deciding upon the truth of Professor Robertson Smith's hypothesis. I proceed to investigate these under the following rubrics:—

- I. Names derived from animals and plants.
- II. Worship of ancestors and of animals.
- III. Exogamy and kinship through females.
- IV. Forbidden food.
- v. Tattooing and clan-crests.
- VI. Blood-feud and wergild.

I.—Animal and Plant Names.

Professor Smith gave a selected list of about thirty persons and towns which bear names derived from animals and plants. I have expanded this into a list¹ of 160 such names, which I believe practically exhaust the subject, and enable inductions to be based on the widest collection of facts.

¹ This list will be published elsewhere. Many of the names are mentioned in the body of the paper.

At first sight so large a number seems to show a preponderating proportion of animal and plant names among the personal names of the O. T.; but, as a matter of fact, the proportion is considerably less than is found in England at the present day. There are some 120 persons¹ bearing this class of name among the 15,000 whose names are recorded in the O. T., less than one per cent. Now among English surnames, as represented by Mr. Bardsley's excellent book on that subject, I find that nearly three per cent. are derived from plants, birds, beasts, and fishes; among them, Brock (badger), Kite, Lyon, Dove, Lovel (wolf), Wolf, Buck, Hart, Todd (fox), Marten (weasel), Stoat (idem), Mouse, Kenn (dog), Pigg, Galt (pig), Sugden (sow), Purcell (porculus), Fish, Nokes (oak), Snooks (Seven oaks), Lind, and other names that occur in the list from the Hebrew.²

Similarly, in Miss Yonge's History of Christian Names², 1885, two out of the ten sources from which she traces their origin are animals and plants³ (p. 5). As, therefore, we find animal and plant names among the ancient Hebrews even less frequently than among modern Englishmen, who are certainly not totem-worshippers,⁴ the argument from such names cannot be regarded as proving much. So, too, it certainly seems unnecessary to see in Oreb (raven) and Zeeb (wolf), the princes of the Midianites, names of clans, as Professor Smith would wish us to do, as they would in that case have personal names in addition to these gentilicia.

Indeed, when examined carefully, very few of these names turn out to be family names at all, as they should be on Professor Smith's hypothesis. In fact, only thirty of the persons with these names are named as fathers or mothers, so that they might be regarded as surnames; and of actual gentilicia ending in the patronymic *yud* there are only the following: Bechorites (Camel tribe), Calebites (Dog tribe), Arelites (lion), Arodites (ass), Elonites (oak), Shaphamites (serpent), Tolahites (worm), Shomathites (garlic), Zimrites (chamois), Zorites (hornet). Of these more than half occur in the remarkable list of the clans of the tribes of Israel

Nearly forty of these are, besides, found only in the very late books, Chron. (Ezra, Neh.) and Esther.

3 Cf. the legal luminaries John Doe and Richard Roe.

² Cf. Pott, *Personal-Namen*, 1860, p. 104, and Ploss, *Das Kind*, 1883, i, p. 30. We can understand that Esther should be called *Hadassah* (myrtle), and Tamar, the Palm, without resorting to any violent hypothesis.

⁴ Mr. Grant Allen (Anglo-Saxon Britain, p. 79) suggested that some of the Anglo-Saxon settlers were totem-clans, but without much evidence. The question has, however, been recently put on another footing by Mr. Gomme, as the readers of this Review will shortly have an opportunity of judging.

given in Num. xxxvi, and in another connection will engage our attention later.1

But it would be unfair to assume that all the personal names in the O. T. derived from animals and plants are merely personal. As is well known, the Hebrews, and indeed all early nations, preferred to put their geographical and ethnographical knowledge in the form of genealogies. Thus, when it is said (Gen. x) "Canaan begat Sidon", it is as if one should say "Wales begat Monmouth, and Flint, and Glamorgan", etc. And there is one genealogical table in Gen. xxxvi which will well repay our attention in connection with our immediate subject. More than one-third of the Horites, the descendants of Seir (the he-goat), bear animal names; and we also find that those clans of the Edomites who were connected with the Horites had also animal names, as a glance at the genealogies on the next page will show. Nay more, wherever we trace a connection with these Horites and Edomites we may expect with confidence to find animal or plant names. It is a disputed question what was the real name of Moses's father-in-law, whether Jethro, Reuel (Raguel), or Hobab, but from Judges iv, 11, we conclude that he had some connection with the Kenites, and the name of his daughter Zipporah (Little Bird), occurs in our list.2 So, too, when the tribe of Judah received the powerful accession of the Dog tribe (Calebites),3 in its career of conquest, it is from the

¹ The following table gives a classification of the persons mentioned in our list, according as their names may be regarded as personal or surnames:—

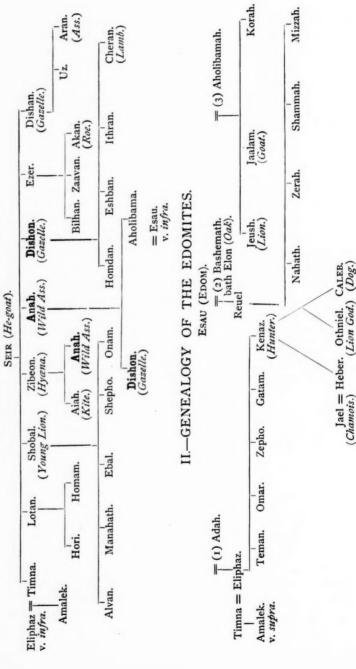
				(A). 1	PERSON	AL.					
									From Israel.		
	Sons	•••	•••	***	***	***	***	51	***	(17)	
ii.	Males (father unnamed)				***	***		20		(12)	
iii.	Daughters	S	***	**	***	***	***	4			
iv.	Females (paren	t unn	amed)	***	•••	***	8	••	(1)	
							Total	83		(30)	
				(B).	SURNA	MES.					
				, ,					Fr	om Israel.	
i.	Fathers	***	***	***	***	•••		22	***	(4)	
	Mothers	•••	***	***	•••	***	***	5			
iii.	Patronym	ics		***	***	•••	•••	12	***	(4)	
	Towns	•••	•••	•••	***	•••	•••	40		(40)	
							Total	79		(48)	

² Cf. on the relations of the Midianites, Moabites, and Edomites, Baker-Greene, *The Hebrew Migration from Egypt*, p. 162. Job was a son of Uz, one of the Horite tribes, and his daughter Kezia bears the name of the cassia tree.

³ The following is a rough classification of the distribution of the personal names in our list:—

Horites, etc. ... II Israelite clans ... 16 Early miscell. ... 6 Kenites II Hittite and Hivite 2 Late ... 9 Midian, and Moab 6 Women ... 7 Sporadic ... 10

I.—GENEALOGY OF THE HORITES.



country of Kenaz (the Hunter), the son of Edom, that Caleb comes.¹ The importance of the Calebites in the making of Palestine is shown by the great attention paid to their genealogy by the chronicler, who gives no less than five different accounts of the tribal and local relations of the Dog tribe (I Chron. ii, 18-20, 42-49, 50-55; iv, II-I2, I5). Though occurring in so late a book as Chronicles, these genealogies are clearly old, as the writer goes out of his way to say "these are ancient things" (iv, 22). Now, in these various accounts of the Calebites, many names occur from our list, viz.: Ardon, (great ass), Elah (oak), Shobal (lion), Shumathites (garlic); Zorites (hornet); Tappuah (citron). And, in fact, when we review the names and persons given in our list, it will be found that over a third of all the names belong to the tribes which wandered about the Land of Seir, from the Arnon to the eastern head of the Red Sea.

Here, then, if anywhere, we may expect to find our totem-clans in the Old Testament, and it is hence that Professor Smith has drawn his chief examples. Undoubtedly the aggregation of such a number of animal names cannot be accidental. Professor Dillmann, a very great authority, but one rather biased against the school of Wellhausen, remarks that it is only natural that nomad tribes should select names from the objects with which they are most immediately concerned. To the nomad, animals are friends, foes, servants, and pets to a greater degree than with other men It might therefore be a natural result of this familiarity, that onethird of the Horite clans should have animal names. And, indeed, if Professor Smith trusted entirely to the evidence of names, we might point out to him that it is the main boast of the anthropological school of prehistoric inquirers, that they have opposed the unfounded conclusions based by philologists on the mere etymolo-Unfortunately, the Bible gives scarcely any information about the habits of these tribes which would enable us to ascertain whether the Horites presented the other properties of totem-clans-exogamy, female descent, the totem worshipped as ancestor, and regarded as tabu, etc. The learned Professor has, however, ingeniously extracted some evidence on the first point merely from the arrangement of the clan-names in Gen. xxxvi. Before we turn to examine this, there is a remark worth making which bears on the whole method of his examination. Supposing him to have succeeded in proving the existence of totem-clans

¹ Cf. Mr. Fenton's reconciliation of the accounts in Josh. i and ix, in his excellent *Early Hebrew Life*; also Wellhausen, *De Familiis Judaicis*, 1870.

among the Horites, his success would carry with it certain conclusions which bear with negative force against their existence among the Israelites, in whom he and we are more deeply interested. The Horites were nomads, and totemism in its full force has only been found among tribes of hunters. With agricultural nations, the importance of wild beasts largely disappears, and the very fact that the Professor seems to have shown the existence of full totemism among the nomad Horites, tells strongly against its being found as anything more than a survival among the agricultural Hebrews. With this remark we turn to his and our evidence for the existence in the Old Testament of the remarkable social arrangements known as

II .- Exogamy and Descent through Females.

The name "exogamy" was given by the late Mr. J. F. Mac-Lennan to the curious but widely spread custom by which men were prevented by a law of quasi-incest from marrying within their own clan, i.e., to women of the same surname as themselves. The custom is still extant in China and India, and forms a characteristic part of the customs of the North American Indians and Australians.¹ It is mostly found combined with the equally curious custom of tracing descent only through females. This latter practice is traced by anthropologists to a state of society where what is euphemistically called "promiscuity", or "communal marriage", is prevalent, and where the cynical epigram, "Maternity is a matter of fact, paternity a matter of opinion", exactly represents the state of kinship.

Professor R. Smith attempts to find these customs indicated by the names of the Horite tribes. Anah (wild ass) is said to be (1) "the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite" (Gen. xxxvi, 2), (2) a child (son) of Zibeon (ibid., 24), (3) a son of Seir (ibid.). In the first passage he emends with all scholars "Hivite" into "Horite", but does not take into account that most authorities read with Sam. Lxx and Pesh. "son" for "daughter". From the latter word he deduces kinship through females among the Horites on extremely slender grounds. And from the existence of a sub-clan, Anah, among the Zibeonites as well as among the Seirites, he concludes that there was exogamy, so that no members of the Anah clan could intermarry. This seems at first sight a somewhat wild

¹ J. F. McLennan, Studies in Ancient Society, pp. 74-82; Sir J. Lubbock Origin of Civilization, p. 122.

conclusion from very slight data, but it is really a fair working hypothesis to account for sub-clans of the same name among different Horite tribes, of which we find another instance in the Dishon sub-clan. If kinship were traced through the father, all members of a clan would have the same clan-name. But if kinship were traced through mothers only, and exogamy prevailed, the same clan-name could easily be spread through the tribe. There still remain two difficulties: (1) some members of the Anah clan would also be members of the Dishon sub-clan, and it is difficult to see how they could have two clan-names; (2) the system of subdivision and of animal nomenclature is not systematically carried through all the tribes. These difficulties are not perhaps insurmountable, as only implying the decadence of the totem system in Edom; and we may allow that Professor Smith has shown the existence of animal names among the Horite tribes, has rendered it probable that exogamy and descent through females existed among them, and has thereby raised a presumption that, if we had further evidence, we should find the other marks of totem-clans among the Edomites.

Can he prove the same for Israel? It cannot be said that the arguments he himself gives are very conclusive. He explains the remarkable disappearance of the tribe of Simeon from history as being due to its keeping up the system of exogamy, while the other tribes settled down into a local habitation and a name. He bases this, in the first place, on Hitzig's rather forced connection of the name Simeon with the Arabic Sim', a cross between a hyæna and a wolf. He then contends that Shimei and Simeon are identical, and points out that there were Shimeis among the Levites (Ex. vi, 17), the Reubenites (1 Chr. v, 4), and Benjamites (the well-known curser of David). Besides the uncertainty of the various identifications, we shall see that other tribes had clans of the same name among them without disappearing, and he overlooks the continued existence of the tribe of Simeon to the time of Hezekiah (I Chr. iv, 41). Their nomad habits, and liability to attack from other nomads, are a sufficient explanation of their disappearance, without any resort to far-fetched etymologies and hypotheses.

And, indeed, he could have found other evidence of exogamy among the Israelites without resorting to the tribe of Simeon. The remarkable twenty-sixth chapter of Numbers¹ does for the

¹ It may be observed that the early date of this chapter would not be necessarily established by the marks of ancient organisation, which I attempt to show in it. Such lists are frequently handed down from time immemorial.

Israelites what Gen. xxxvi does for the Horites and Edomites, gives the clans of the Tribes. Of this there can be no doubt, as the names of the clans are in almost every case adjoined to their eponymous ancestor. It is formed on the plan laid down in the opening words: "The children of Reuben, Hanoch, of whom came the family of the Hanochites, of Pallu, the family of the Palluites," and so on (Num. xxvi, 5). Altogether 72 clans are mentioned, and of these at least ten occur in two tribes—the Nemuelites, a sub-clan of the Palluites, in Reuben and in Simeon; the Zarhites, in Simeon and in Judah; the Hezronites, among whom the Calebites were adopted, in Reuben and in Judah; and, most striking of all, the Arodites, or wild ass clan, both in Gad and in Benjamin, where they appear under the dialectic form of Ardites. possible that the Jeezerites of Gilead, of Manasseh, were connected with the Jeezerites of Naphtali. And besides this, other clans have animal names, as the Shallimites, or Fox clan, of Naphtali; the Shuphamites, or Serpent clan, of Benjamin; the Bochrites, or Camel clan, of Ephraim (and, according to I Chron, also of Benjamin); the Elonites, or Oak clan, of Zebulon; the Tolahites, or Worm clan, of Issachar; and the Arelites, or Lion clan, of Gad. Nor is this all, in the enumeration of the Spies (Numb. xiii) the names of their fathers are clearly patronymics of clans or families (e.g., Caleb b. Hori, Nahbi b. Vophsi, Geuel b. Machi, Gabriel b. Sodi), and among them are the families of the Gemallites, or Camel clan, of Dan, and the Susites, or Horse clan, of Manasseh. So, too, in the two lists of the princes of Israel (Numb. i and xxxiv), there are members of the clan Ammihud in Simeon, Ephraim, and Naphtali. And if we might assume that the Israelites called the towns they founded after their own names, we might observe that there were Ajalons, Stag towns, in Dan, Ephraim, Zebulon, and Benjamin. Of direct evidence of the existence of exogamy I can only adduce one striking passage, the tradition about Ibzan the judge, of whom the only thing recorded is that he "had thirty sons and thirty daughters, whom he sent abroad, and took in thirty daughters from abroad for his sons" (Ju. xii, 9).1 A better description of exogamy could not well be given. But as it is impossible to consider this practice as being introduced so late, this tradition possibly records the popular memory of the last clan that kept up the practice.

¹ It is, perhaps, worth while remarking that of the twelve judges (Shamgar being a doublet of Samson), Tola, Deborah, Elon, and Samson have totemistical names, and the former is clearly identified with the eponym of the Tolaites. Notice, too, the "nunation" of the names Gideon, Elon, Ibzan, and Samson.

Exogamy is regarded by McLennan as a further stage from totemism, though co-existing with it, and we may therefore conclude that totemism, as a bond of connection of the Israelites, had lost its vitality, and we should only expect to find "survivals" of it in the later history.1

Exogamy and totemism are mostly found connected with the custom of tracing descent through females, to which we now turn. This, as we have said before, is a relic of the time when marriage of the modern type hardly existed, and the research of paternity was forbidden or impossible. Prof. Smith, and before him Mr. Fenton (Early Hebrew Life, 1881), notices several survivals of this When descent is only reckoned through the stage of society. mother, half-brothers and sisters may be regarded as having no relationship to one another, and may marry, as we know they did in the case of Abraham and Sarah, and could have done in the case of Tamar and Amnon (2 Sam. xiii). Presents were given to Rebecca's mother and brother (Gen. xxiv, 53). Abimelech appeals to his mother's kin as being of his flesh (Ju. viii, 19). Mr. Fenton even explains the relations of Lot and his daughters as innocent, since on the earlier system of kinship fathers were no relations to their daughters. It might be added that Naomi tells Ruth to return to her "mother's house" (Ruth i, 8), and the Shunamite speaks of her mother's children (Cant. i, 6). David's three heroes are called after their mother Zerujah (2 Sam. xvii, 25; 1 Chron. ii, 16).2 Much of this seems to me the natural result of polygamous conditions, and scarcely to prove a state of kinship only reckoned through females. though it certainly bears with great force against Sir H. S. Maine's patriarchal theory, according to which the wife is practically nonexistent in reckoning kinship (agnation). McLennan, however, gives strong reasons for believing the Levirate to be a survival of what he terms Tibetan polyandry (Patr. Theory, pp. 157-9). The standing term for clan, "father's house", is against the assumption that kinship through females existed among the Israelites in historic

To sum up this branch of our inquiry, we have found traces of

¹ Marriage by capture is legislated for Deut. xxi, 10, seq., and a celebrated case of the whole tribe of Benjamin gaining their brides in this way occurs, Ju. xxi.

² The case of the Nethinim and Solomon's servants (Ez. ii, 43-60; cf. Neh. vii) is somewhat different. No less than three-quarters of the names of parents seem to be those of women, but this is probably because they were the children of the Kedishoth, or hiero-dulæ, who were only removed in Josiah's time. (See Babyl. and Orient. Record, Feb.-March 1888.)

exogamy dying out in Israel at the time of Judges, and also evidence that when they settled in Canaan, the Israelite tribes had something answering to the totem arrangement among their clans. But it is highly improbable that this arrangement could be kept up when the Israelites became mainly an agricultural people, and we can only expect to find "survivals" of it in the times of the Kings.

III.—Ancestor Worship and Animal Worship.1

There can be little doubt that the Teraphim were of the nature of ancestral gods; they were clearly gods of the household, as distinguished from the deities of public worship, and we find in Rome and Greece the cult of the Lares and Penates having a distinctively ancestral cast. Distinct reference to worship of the dead is made in Isaiah viii, 19: "Are not the people wont to speak unto their gods (*Elohim*), unto the dead instead of to the living?" (*Cheyne*); in Psalms cvi, 28: "They joined themselves unto Baal Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead"; and the practice is referred to even at so late a date as in the Mishna, in a saying attributed to R. Simon b. Jochai (Pirg. Aboth., edit. Taylor, iii, 15). When Jonathan seeks to explain David's absence to his father, his words seem to bear a reference to some kind of sacrifice to family gods. David is made to say, "Let me go, I pray thee. Our family hath a sacrifice in the city (Bethlehem), and my brother he hath commanded me to be there" (I Sam. xx, 29).

Professor R. Smith has proposed an ingenious explanation of the family worship of David, though, strangely enough, he does not bring it in connection with the passage I have just quoted. Among the ancestors of David is Nahshon, or the Great Serpent. Abigail, his sister, is said to be the daughter of Nahush, the Serpent, which must therefore, according to the Professor, be a name of Jesse or of the family.² In the royal courtyard afterwards stood the great Brazen Serpent, which received divine honours, and Adonizah was crowned at the Serpent stone. Putting all these facts together, Professor Smith suggests that David was a member of a Serpent totem-clan. He connects with this the fact that the shepherd-king was on good terms with Nahash, king of the

¹ On ancestor worship among the Arabs, cf. Goldziher, La Culte des Ancêtres chez les Arabes, Paris, 1885, from the Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.

² Von Baudissin suggests that it might be the name of her mother. (Stud. z. Semit. Religiousgeschichte.)

Ammonites, although the Israelites in general were at war with him, the tie of clanship overruling national antipathies. All this seems to me far-fetched, and based in large measure on incomplete grasp of the totem arrangement. For, first, the names Nahshon and Nahash are personal, not clan-names. Then there is no sign that the Brazen Serpent was intimately connected with the Davidic dynasty: tradition terms it the "serpent of Moses". Again, there is no trace in the genealogy of David's descent being traced through females, as would be required if it was desired to connect him with the Ammonites-though, on the other hand, Ruth was a Moabitess. And, finally, David's friendship with Nahash can be easily explained by the fact that they were common enemies of Saul, and is paralleled by David's connection with Achish. As soon as David becomes King of Israel, the Ammonites cease to be friendly towards him. We must therefore, I think, reject the instance of David which Professor Smith regards as a proof of the existence of totem-clans among the Israelites in historic times; even though we may recognise traces of ancestor-worship in David's family.

Animal Worship.—And similarly with regard to animal worship among the Hebrews. There can be no doubt that it existed. The legend of the Golden Calf and of the Brazen Serpent are among the most prominent of Biblical stories. Professor Smith brings in the second commandment as showing that animal worship was the great rival of the worship of the true God—"Thou shalt not make unto thyself any likeness of any thing that is in the heavens above (birds), or that is in the earth beneath (animals), or that is in the waters under the earth (fishes)." This has been in a measure always recognised. But it has never been suggested before Professor Smith that this worship was connected in any way with the tribal arrangement of the Canaanites or the Hebrews. What proof has he of the connection between this worship and the family organisation of the Hebrews? He makes for this purpose an ingenious use of a passage of Ezekiel, which is indeed a most striking one, and has been, so far as I can observe, the cause of Professor Smith's views being so widely accepted. It therefore deserves our closest attention. It runs as follows (Ez. viii, 7-11): An angel carries Ezekiel from his place of exile to Jerusalem, and shows him the image of jealousy being worshipped in the north court of the Temple, and then promises to show him even greater abominations. "And he brought me to the door of the court, and when I looked, behold a hole in the wall. Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged into the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me, Go in and behold the wicked abominations that they do here. So I went in and saw: and behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the wall round about. And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah ben Shaphan (the Coney), with every man his censer in his hand, and a thick cloud of incense went up."

Here we have clearly animal worship. But how can we conclude that these animals were regarded as ancestors or totems? Professor Smith points to the name of the officiating priest in these idolatrous rites, Jaazaniah ben Shaphan, "son of the Coney". Now, the Coney, or rather Rock badger, was an abominable beast of the Hebrews, one regarded with religious horror by true Israelites (Lev. xi), and therefore might have been regarded by religious veneration by idolatrous Jews, and it seems to be implied in this passage of Ezekiel that all the elders of Israel, i.e., the chiefs of the clans, had similar totems. It seems possible to suppose that the troubles which had befallen the Israelites had sent them back to the superstitions of old, and caused a reversion to totem-worship. turns upon the name "ben Shaphan". If this is a family name, we have here a connection, the one hitherto wanting, between animal worship and family organisation. We have worship of animals and families with animal names combined together. We must, however, remember that in the first place it is a vision. Then, as regards the name "ben Shaphan", it is either real or fictitious. If real, we can explain it with tolerable ease in accordance with the ordinary Hebrew usage, as referring to the name of Jaazaniah's father, and not his family. We know of at least one Shaphan of the preceding generation, the well-known scribe of Josiah (2 Kings xxii), who was certainly no totem-worshipper, and who might naturally name his son "Jaazaniah" (Fah will hear me). If the person mentioned by Ezekiel was a real person and a son of this Shaphan, we can easily understand why the prophet selected him as a typical figure. Here was the son of one of the principal figures in the Jahvistic reformation of Josiah's reign turning to idolatrous practices. If, again, the name was invented by the prophet—as is more likely, since real names of persons occur most rarely in the book-I think we can explain it better as a piece of irony than as a reference to any family connection with this worship of animals. The prophet calls the officiating figure Jaazaniah (Fah hears) ben Shaphat (son

of the Coney), to emphasize the contrast between the true and the false worship. He is called "Jaazaniah", "God hears me", and yet he is a "son of the Coney", or worships the coney, for ben is used in a very wide sense in Hebrew for a member of a guild or a worshipper of a god, as the well-known "sons of Belial". It is something like an author of a political satire nowadays calling a Tory who had turned Radical "William Ewart Disraeli", or a writer inveighing against fox-hunting parsons naming a typical figure "Rev. Theophilus Reynard". And again, as regards the source of the animal worship mentioned by Ezekiel, the other kinds of idolatry mentioned in the eighth chapter are in each case extraneous, the image of jealousy1 being probably Canaanitish, the worship of Tammuz certainly Phœnician, and that of the sun being possibly a Persian importation. It seems natural therefore to assume a foreign source for the remaining form of idolatry, animal worship. Now we know the wide extent of this kind of idolatry in Egypt, and exegetists have hitherto taken our passage to refer to this especially, as it is particularly mentioned in ch. xxiii that Judah had gone back to the idolatry of her youth, "wherein she played the harlot in the land of Egypt" (Ez. xxiii, 19). I do not see sufficient reason, therefore, in the mere presence of the name ben Shaphan for departing from this usual and natural interpretation. It seems to me most unlikely that we should find the prophet referring to totem-worship in its strict sense unless we found other signs of the totem-organisation widely spread among the Israelites of Ezekiel's time.

IV.—Forbidden Food.

But Prof. Smith has not exhausted all his resources in laying such stress, and, as I think, unwarranted stress, on the name of the imaginary officiating priests at Ezekiel's imagined temple-rites. One of the characteristics of the totem-organisation is the fact that the totem animal is regarded as *tabu*; it must not be eaten except in some instances eucharistically as a religious rite. Now we find distinct reference to the eucharistic use of what the Israelites call "unclean animals" even as late as the second Isaiah, 100 years later than Ezekiel. This prophet speaks of men "which remain among the graves and lodge in the monuments, which eat

¹ Dr. Neubauer has suggested that the here is a proper name, the prototype of the Greek Semele (Athen., Sept. 19th, 1885). He was anticipated by St. Jerome (Onom. Sacr., ed. Lagarde, p. 58) in taking the word as a proper name.

swine's flesh and broth of abominable things in their vessels" (Is. lxv, 4); and again, "they that sanctify themselves . . . eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse" (ib., lxvi, 17). Prof. Smith points out that both swine and mouse occur as proper names. But the former, Hesir, is used only of a priest, and of a covenanter of Ezra's time, who cannot be connected with totemworship, and Achbor, or mouse (cf. the Roman family of Mus), is used of a King of Edom of early date where we have seen totemism to be most probable, and in Israel only of one of Josiah's friends, who was certainly unconnected with totem-worship. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as proven that the sacrificial use of swine's flesh was consciously connected with any tribal arrangement at the time of the second Isaiah, though it is possible that it was in some way a "survival" of an earlier organisation of the kind.

Prof. Smith sees a whole series of such survivals in the wellknown lists of forbidden food in Lev. xi and Deut. xiv. see what this assumption involves. It implies that at an early period, say before the Exodus, the Israelites were organised on the basis of families or clans tracing through the mothers, and called after her Hezir (swine), Achbor (mouse), Aiah (kite), Arod (wild ass), Shaphan (coney), and so on, each of the clans refraining from eating the totem-animal. Thus in a polygamous family it might happen that there were members of all these clans in one family which would therefore abstain from eating all the animals mentioned. As the totem-organisation declined, the origin of this abstinence would be lost; but the custom of abstinence by the natural inertia of customary procedure might last on, and a natural horror be developed against eating these particular animals. legislation was codified these customs might well be incorporated in the code, and raised, as it were, to a higher power by being connected with a purer worship. The Jewish theory of sacrifice as interpreted by Maimonides recognised that something of the same kind was done in the case of sacrifice, as a kind of concession to human weakness. It is, therefore, impossible to deny that the tabu'd food of the Israelites may show survivals of totem-organisation. The hypothesis would certainly explain certain anomalies in the list. notably the presence in it of the Coney (or rock badger), for which no plausible explanation has hitherto been given. The division into clean and unclean by the two tests of cloven-foot and rumination would then be a later induction from the animals regarded as tabu: this is, to some extent, confirmed by the want of any such systematisation in the list of birds given Lev. xi, 13-19. All this is extremely

ingenious, and is by far the most plausible explanation given of the seemingly arbitrary solution of forbidden food, and at the same time of the religious horror with which the "abominations" were regarded. But, here again I fail to find evidence of the actual existence in historic times of the connection of tabu and totem required by Prof. Smith's hypothesis. The evidence from names is rather against than for the hypothesis, the whole category of plant-names, so frequent as totems, is absent from the Levitical list. Indeed, taking the 85 separate names contained in our list, I find 43 of these "clean" as against 42 "unclean", showing at least that the connection, if it ever existed, had been forgotten in historic times: - Zimri, the Chamois; Jonah, the Dove; Epher, the Hart, Ezra's son, could have no connection with totem, since neither Chamois, Dove, nor Hart are taboo'd. Nor would it be impossible to explain the whole list as being rather the rough induction of folk-medicine collected by the priest, who combined in ancient times all the learned professions, including medicine. This latter explanation would, however, not account for some of the anomalies of the list, especially that of the coney, and would also fail to account for the religious aversion which must have existed prior to the compilation of the list. I think it, therefore, not unlikely that the list of forbidden food contains in it some survivals of the old totem-worship and totem-clan organisation, though I am unable to agree that they are in historic times anything more than survivals, resembling the case of the horse in England, which anthropologists say we do not eat because it was once sacred to Odin, and thus tabu'd.

V.—Tattooing and Clan Crests.

Another mark of the totem-clan is, that the members of the clan bear the totem tattooed on their skin. Can we trace signs of this in the Old Testament? We have here the negative evidence that it was forbidden in the Levitical legislation (Lev. xix, 28), "Ye shall not make any cuttings on your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you." Most of the parallel passages (Deut. xiv, I;

¹ The following table gives the distribution of the personal and town names, according as they are "clean" or "unclean". Only those town-names are reckoned which do not occur among persons.—

In all, 43 clean against 42 unclean, of which there are 37 of former and 39 of latter applied to persons.

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Jer. xvi, 6; xli, 5; xlvii, 5; xlviii, 27) seem to show that this cutting was chiefly done as a sign of mourning. But the "printing of marks" seems to have been different, and to be more of the character of tattooing, the קצקצ being probably a caustic. There seems to be some reference to this in Isaiah xliv, 5-" Another shall inscribe himself by his hand unto the Lord", and perhaps in the "mark" that was to be set upon true Israelites in Ezekiel ix, 4 (cf. Gen. iv, 15, "mark of Cain"). It has even been suggested that the "mark on the hand" and the sign "between your eyes" (Exod. xiii, 9) were either originally tattoo-marks, or that the phylacteries were adopted to wean the Jews away from this practice. Mr. Herbert Spencer (Prim. Sociology, p. 364) has suggested an explanation of the difficult passage, Deut. xxxii, 5-"They have corrupted themselves, their spot is not the spot of his children" (A. V.), which would bring it in connection with our subject. suggests that the poet's complaint was that they had tatooed themselves with a mark of another god. He seems to trust here too much to the Authorised Version, which makes more sense out of the passage than really can be found in it. Literally, the words run, "Corrupted unto him, not his sons their spots"-whatever that may mean.1 That the practice of tattooing was carried on among Semites seems to be shown by the fact that it still exists among the Cabiles (L. Geiger, l. c., p. 177), and that at the time of Ptolemy Philomator apostate Jews were ordered to be branded with an ivy-leaf in honour of Bacchus (3 Macc. ii, 29). And everyone will remember the mark of the beast in Revelations, where it is clearly used in a religious or idolatrous sense. But there are no indications of a direct relation between tattooing and totems, and here again we find at best only "survivals".

Clan Crests.—The totem serves as a rallying sign for the gens, hence it is only natural that it should be used as a crest or standard in war time. The Israelites, we know, had standards (Num. i, 52; ii, 2 seq.; x, 14 seq.), and the Rabbis have given detailed accounts of the crests of the tribes² (cf. Winer, Realworterbuch, s. v. Falne).

¹ On the whole subject cf. L. Geiger, Z. D. M. G., 1869, 166 seq. Kalisch Lev., ii, 429-30. The Arabs still have sacred marks on their faces. The late "Mahdi" had them; cf. J. Darmesteter, The Mahdi, p. 111.

² Mediæval heraldry made out elaborate coats of arms for the various tribes, and they are figured down the dexter side of the title-page of the *Editio Princeps* of the Authorised Bible, 1611. As specimens, I may quote Fuller's quaint descriptions (*Pisgah Light*): Zebulon, "a ship argent, with mast and tackling sable"; Simeon, "gules, a sword in pale with the point thereof ended argent"; Issachar, "an ass couchant argent, in a field vert." Cf. Fort. Rev., l. c.

These were in all probability derived from the animal metaphors contained in the blessings of Jacob (Gen. xlix) and of Moses (Deut. xxxiii). In the former, Judah is compared to a lion, Issachar to an ass, Dan to a serpent, Naphtali to a hind, Benjamin to a wolf, Joseph to a bough. In Moses's blessing only four of these comparisons occur-Ephraim to a bullock, Manasseh to a bison, Gad to a lion, and Dan to a lion's whelp. The temptation is strong to take these for the leading totems in each tribe; and this suggestion is particularly interesting, because it was on this that McLennan argued for totemism among the Israelites, ten years before Professor W. R. Smith (Fort. Rev., 1870, i, p. 207). Unfortunately, the lists disagree, Dan being a serpent in Jacob's blessing, a lion's whelp in Moses's; it is possible that the head clan in Dan had changed from one with a serpent to another with a lion's cub in the interval. But the natural imagery of poetry will explain all the circumstances of the case without any resort to the totem hypothesis.

VI.—Blood Feud.

To conclude our investigation, we must consider the practical side of the totem-clan organisation. The utility of this arrangement in ancient times was, that a man would find almost everywhere he went kinsfolk who would take his part in any quarrel, avenge his death, and support his children if he were killed. A tribe composed of families made up of totem-clans could not be dissolved, since in each family there would be members of the different clans, and all that tended to keep family life together would aid the consolidation of the tribe. The bloodfeud, or vendetta, is represented in the Pentateuch by the "avenger of blood", whose functions are only referred to as wel. known in ordinary cases, the law treating of the exceptional circumstance of an accidental homicide (Deut. xix, xxi; Num. xxxv). But we know from the charming idyll of Ruth of another function of the Goel, or "near kinsman", to marry the childless widow of his kinsman, as Boaz, the kinsman of Elimelech, did for Ruth, the widow of Mahlon, Elimelech's son. Here we have a tie of kindred, but it is reckoned through the male line, and there are no signs of a connection with totemism.

Thus, throughout our inquiries we have found phenomena in the Biblical records which may be regarded as "survivals" of totemism, but not of the actual existence of the totem-clan itself. Professor Smith's specific instances of David as a member of a

Serpent clan, and Jaazaniah ben Shaphan surrounded by creeping beasts and abominations, and all the "totems" of the house of Israel, we have had to reject as based on insufficient evidence, and having no weight against the great à priori improbabilities of totemism in its full force existing among a people in the main agricultural. On the other hand, we have seen indications like the arrangement of the Israelite clans (Num. xxvi), the forbidden food of the Hebrews (Lev. xi), tattooing (Lev. xix, 28), and the existence of animal names among them, which may be regarded as "survivals" of a previous totemistic organisation among the Israelites before their entry into Canaan. We have also seen a great probability of totemism where we should be more prepared to find it, in the nomad tribes of Edomites and Horites. Thus this, like many other lines of contemporary investigation, points to an early identity or connection of the Israelites and the nomad tribes of Edom, such, indeed, as is expressed in the Biblical records, which make them all B'nê Abraham, or in the triumphal opening of Deborah's song-

> "Lord, [when] thou wentest forth from Seir, Thou marchedst out of the field of Edom."

We may then give a definite answer to the question we have set ourselves, Are there Totem-Clans in the Old Testament? by saying—

(1) If anthropology teaches that the totem arrangement is a necessary stage of national development, there are sufficient indications of such arrangement in the names of the Edomite clans

(Gen. xxxvi).

(2) There are sufficient "survivals" of totemism in the names of the Israelite clans, their forbidden food, personal names, tattooing, family feasts, and blood avengers, to render it likely that they once had a totem organisation like the other B'nê Abraham.

(3) But there are not any signs of the actual existence of totemism in historic times among the Hebrews, such as Professor Smith contends for in the cases of David and the crucial passage, Ez. viii, 11.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

THE EARLY CHURCH DEDICATIONS OF THE SOUTH OF SCOTLAND.

THE article on the dedication of churches in the Archæological Review for December 1888 seems to me a decided step in the direction of making available a very important class of historical indications. The statistics are only to be had for certain counties as yet. But the points I wish to call attention to at present are, first, that one church has often had several successive dedications, and secondly, what the different classes of dedications imply.

The practice of re-dedicating an existing church, or church endowment, to a fresh saint had probably nearly ceased in the centuries immediately before the Reformation, when records in writing were too full to be easily set aside. There is no doubt much truth in the explanation the author of the article in question gives of the fact that certain saints who were in great repute seldom appear as patrons of churches, namely, that after the early Norman period England was pretty well furnished with churches, so that whatever excellence architecture was destined to attain to, new foundations were not very common, comparatively speaking; in short, the earliest saints got the most dedications. So that, whatever exceptions may exist, the history of dedications in Britain concerns chiefly the period between the Romans and the Normans, overlapping a little at the end of one and the beginning of the other period. This is the period for which dedications are useful for historical purposes. The latter part of it at least is very much more obscure in Scotland than in England, partly because the history was intentionally falsified for political reasons, for since the older documents have been looked for in the proper places they have been to a certain extent forthcoming. But in the south of Scotland, where four or five different races were fighting and driving each other back and forward for centuries, the dedications stand out with great clearness compared to other historical indications.

Scotland has one dedication that belongs to the Roman period, that at Whitherne, or Candida Casa, in Galloway. St. Ninian, the founder, who, wherever else he had been on the continent, had been under St. Martin at Tours, was building his church or monastery

at the time he heard of St. Martin's death, and he dedicated his church to him.

Here, I think, we have at the outset the theory of these early invocations. I do not know that it needs much explanation, but it was made clearer to me by what Mr. Wirt Sikes says in his British Goblins, on the subject of ghosts, and the beliefs regarding the relations of the living and the dead—I have not the reference, but the value of the book is not of a kind that can be tabulated—he says he is inclined to think that the belief that the dead have acquired new powers of hurting is at the bottom of the Roman injunction to say nothing but good of the dead! It does seem to want some explanation. And at all events, I am tolerably certain that the converse belief is at work here—the church, and in this case the community, were put under the protection of some good man who had passed into the unseen world; perhaps the more recently the better.

It can only have been the monastic system that Ninian introduced into Scotland; his history mentions churches as existing already in Britain, and as far as Scotland was part of the Roman Empire, it would be Christian, like the rest of it, after the time of Constantine, and the coins, up to the time of Honorius, found on the line of the northern wall correspond with the general probabilities that that was held at least by the Romanised Britons until the final departure of the legions. The statement about the churches is, that Ninian had obtained masons from Tours to build his church, the churches previously in the country having been of wood. Now this, in a life written long after the Iona school had introduced wooden churches from Ireland, is probably a very natural mistake; it is difficult to imagine a time when stone was not used for building in Scotland, and the Whitherne monastery was called Candida Casa, the White House. And Tigh Geal, White House, is used in the Highlands at this day for a house of stone and lime: Tigh Dubh, or Black House, meaning a house of stones and turf. The shells of the Galloway shore are mentioned as a valuable deposit in the seventeenth century, so I have no doubt the shell-lime, not the stone, was the novelty in the district. The old chapels in the Hebrides, when not of dry-stone, are built with shell-lime. What suggested the meaning of Candida Casa to me was observing the old spelling Duchoir, or Black Church, for Dewchar, the site of the present parish church of Yarrow, also called the Forest Kirk.

The exact date of the foundation at Whitherne is not so certain as at first appears from its coinciding with the death of so

eminent a person as St. Martin. Mr. Skene gives the date of that event as 397; I see it stated by one writer as "about 400", which is not only a convenient enough general statement, but may be from the same indications as the other; another makes it 412; while—which is important in quite a different way—the Saxon Chronicle makes it as late as 444. Now this is very near the date of the famous letter to Ætius, consul for the third time, "the groans of the Britons", which has, since Bede's time at any rate, been generally supposed to have been written on the invasion of England by Hengist.

This has been doubted before; but Mr. Skene points out that that event seems to correspond in all respects with the calling in of the barbarians by Gerontius, in the last years of the fourth century; and I infer, from the date given by the Saxon Chronicle for the death of St. Martin, that it took place in the same year as the landing of Hengist in England! Mr. Skene's dates for the two events, in fact, corroborate one another. I further see a philological indication of how Gerontius became the Vortigern of legend. In the list of the cities of Britain attached to Nennius the name of Caer Guorthigern occurs. With Gerontius in view, this seems to contain a reduplication; the older name has been Garth Geraint, the Garde of Gerontius; while with Caer added, Guorthigern looks like a personal name. The "Garde" of chivalry seems to be at least as much a Welsh as a Teutonic word.

Perhaps the most important datum for early history, however, of all connected with this old foundation is that two at least of the abbots are called "Nennio" (see Mr. Skene's Celtic Scotland, vol. ii, p. 49). It is so evident that they were so called as successors of St. Ninian that this explains who, or rather what, Nennius was. I should infer that the whole collection of documents which goes by that name was made at Whitherne. The name of Mark the Anchorite, has come down; some say he was the original Nennius, and others, This theory as to Nennius has been placed the continuator. beyond doubt by the discovery of a document in the Book of Armagh, in which "Patricius" is mentioned as the designation of the Archbishop of Armagh, in the 7th, or more likely, in the 8th century. (See Stokes' Ireland and the Celtic Church.) It was so evident that there must have been more than one Patrick-Dr. George Petrie's instinct perceived as many as seven—that the establishment of the position and authority of Nennius is really the more important result of the two.

The earliest date in the Saxon Chronicle which seems to be

reliable is the coming of Ælla, the father of Edwin, to Northumbria in 540; his family and that of Ida, who followed some years afterwards, are so important historically, that it is likely to be a real date. But the Abbot of Whitherne gives notices of events before this, back to the leaving of the Romans; and further, as to the manifestly fictitious early history of Britain, I am not at all sure it has not been made up in the Roman period in Britain, from the turn it takes; which, though it would not add to its credit as history, would put it on a different footing from a document made up, say, in the 10th century.

The Angles of Northumbria obtained possession of Galloway in the seventh century, and established a Saxon bishopric of Candida Casa. And though it had long been part of Scotland when David I. reorganised the Church, on lines which show that his object must partly have been to obliterate the contending nationalities within the kingdom, he placed his new bishopric, for such it was in effect, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York. The Archdeanery of Teviotdale, in the south-east of Scotland, had been given up to him by Durham, as part of the old diocese of Glasgow; while, by bringing the English Church into his outlying territory of Galloway, he would obtain important assistance in civilising the wild Gallovidians.

It is most probable that the early monastery was not at the site of the mediæval church, but on the Isle of Whitherne, judging by the analogy of other cases, for there is apparently no tradition of this. If I am not mistaken, the isle is a peninsula, often separated from the adjoining coast. The name of St. Ninian's Cave had always attached to a cave on the shore, not very far off; but it is only recently that it has been discovered, the sides are marked in several places with crosses of different rather artistic designs. There are traces of, probably, earlier habitation in the cave, but it is even possible that it really was Ninian's place of retreat, or Diserth; this was almost a regular institution, and does not imply the monastery was not built when the cave was in use. As to the Saint himself, his name is certainly Roman, whether given by Romanised British parents or assumed as a monastic name. The name occurs in at least one inscription in Grüter. He is said to have been the son of a British prince; and it does rather seem likely, from all the circumstances, that he had family influence; but his father's name is not given, and, generally speaking, the accounts of their origin are the parts of the lives of the British saints I look upon with most distrust. In Ireland, as is now known, from the printing

of the old Irish laws, the abbot of the monastery was almost as much a part of the clan-system as the chief himself. (See Celtic Scotland, vol. ii, p. 67 and following.) He was elected within what must have been sometimes narrow limits, and if no ecclesiastic could be found in the family of the chief (or, as was the rule in some cases, in that of the actual founder), the "outsider" who had to be elected as the head of the monastery did not have the administration of the endowments. There are two things to be said in favour of this system, first, that it certainly, in many cases, produced good men; in fact, as long as the spirit of the founder animated the community, and until that became secularised, hereditary training and associations would naturally produce a higher class of men and work than could be obtained by any system partaking of the nature of "cramming". Secondly, it was probably impossible the Church could have worked in any other way in Celtic Ireland, when Christianity had once been finally adopted by the chiefs and people.

And it seems to me that the histories of the saints of Great Britain have generally been composed under the influence of the Irish Church, as no doubt they would be to a great extent, and the circumstance of royal descent added as a matter of course; in some cases one can imagine it being done in good faith; an Irish monk would suppose, as a matter of course, that the abbot must have been a relation of the local king. On the other hand, when a man's pedigree was his title-deeds, as Mr. Skene says with regard to the partition of the tribe-lands, a fictitious pedigree was not altogether an easy thing. And while the system as to landed property belonged rather to a certain stage of agriculture than to any particular race, it is impossible to suppose anything like the unbroken clan-system of Ireland, and in some degree of the Highlands, can ever have existed in England or the Lowlands after the Roman occupation.

Besides the Romans and the early Saxons there were three different Celtic races at least in Scotland, where institutions certainly differed in some ways. The Abbot of Iona came regularly from Ireland, as the qualification was to be a descendant of Conall Gulban, who was a real man, although it is not necessary to believe he went through all the adventures related of him in Mr. Campbell's Gaelic tales, where he appears as the Gaelic representative of Ulysses and Sindbad. Columba had been one of his descendants. They belonged to the race of the Scots, who, though they were apparently the principal stock of the Irish Celts, never were really

very numerous or powerful in Scotland. In fact, Mr. Skene's demonstration that the Picts were the main ancestors of the Scotch Highlanders, though their original dialect was probably more different from Irish Gaelic than the modern language is, is the only way of accounting for their appearance, as has been well said, everywhere and nowhere in Scotland, and for the Gaelic names which are numerous up to the English border, and beyond it. While, if we suppose the Picts to have been the people who called themselves Man, the name which remains in so many localities, and that the name dropped, as it naturally would, when they came in contact with the Saxons, or at least when they allied themselves with them, as they did; it further helps to account for their sudden disappearance when Kenneth, son of Alpine, a Scot of Dalriadia by descent, conquered the Pictish kingdom, the father having the royal Pictish name of Alpine probably indicates that his mother had been a Pictish lady of the royal family.

The name of Pict was retained much longer in Galloway than elsewhere, and it is as well to understand, when St. Ninian is called the Apostle of the Picts, that those of Galloway were quite divided from the kingdoms of the Picts, which lay north and south of the Grampians; Cumbria stretched through the centre of the country, from the Cumbrian Derwent to beyond Dumbarton; and north of the Firth, in the promontory of Cantyre particularly, was the territory of the Dalriad Scots. It is said in the story of the Sons of Uisneach that they conquered all there was of Alban, Scotland, northward from Manau, and as they were Irish invaders of Argyleshire, this shows that Galloway, with Ayr and Renfrewshire, was probably called Manau, as well as the Pictish to ritory of Meath in Ireland, while Manau Guotodin, Manau of the Otadini, in the east of Scotland, I would not restrict to Slamannan, as Mr. Skene does, but make it identical with the varying extent of the political "Lothian". There is next to nothing known about Ninian himself, but the assertion that he was a Briton by descent is probable, (though one account makes him an Irishman, probably by the same sort of conventionality which makes him a king's son).

Galloway was certainly more or less under British rule; the King Caractacus and King Galdus of Galloway tradition, and the romantic historians of Scotland, are apparently Caradoc and Gwallawg, Men of the North, or Cumbrian nobles, who were in the same relation of uncle and nephew. Gwallawg is dubbed by Geoffrey of Monmouth Earl of Salisbury, from which I infer that he had in-

herited some fortress in Galloway, which was then known as Caer Caradoc, Caer Caradoc being the Welsh name of Salisbury!

The dedications to Ninian, I think, are mainly on British ground; the village of St. Ninian's and Ringan's Well are at Stirling, formerly Strivelin, the Yellow Strath.

Bishop Forbes gives a list of more than sixty places in Scotland and the islands where the name occurs, some in Aberdeenshire and further north. Of course these do not all indicate separate churches, as any farm belonging to an ecclesiastical foundation was apt to be called after the saint's name. His authority for Ringan's Dean is the *Origines Parechiales*.

I have not succeeded in verifying the name of Ringan's Dean, given by Bishop Forbes at Bowden, on the south slope of the Eildon Hills, but the old church stands in a narrow valley, and it is likely enough the early church of Both-Eildon had this dedication. I mention this particularly, because the Eildon Hills would seem to have been on the frontier of Cumbria to the east. The name of Ninian becomes Ringan in the Scotch vernacular, Ronan in Gaelic, and Renan in the Cymric of Brittany. While I think I detect it in the female names Monenna and Ninoca; the latter, I observe, has been turned into St. Nun. Mo, my, and og, a sort of Gaelic diminutive, in this case are really the Gaelic substitutes for "saint". There is at least one St. Ronan, a namesake.

Though the great St. Patrick is said to have been born at Dumbarton (he was certainly Cymric), and stands out in Church history as very much of a real man, he does not much concern Scotland, except through the Columban church. Besides the church of Palladius, at Fordoun in Kincardineshire, the name, at least, of Kilpallet remains on the borders of Berwickshire and Haddingtonshire, or East Lothian, with another name near it which shows the dedication had been succeeded by one of the Iona church—Kilmad—Kil-Mo-Aed, or the church of St. Aidan. Palladius seems to have been one of the "Patricks", and it is perfectly imaginable that if he came straight from Italy to the Scots and Picts, he did not get on with them, whether they really martyred him or not.

An early saint who is much more frequent in Scotland, is St. German, who commonly appears under his real *Teutonic* name of Herman. There is an actual Hermanfield near Haddington, and near the old hospital of St. Germans, and both were probably connected with the chapel of Herdmanston, pronounced Hermiston; while *Wolfstar*, in the neighbourhood—sæter or farm—looks as if the dedication had been to Germanus and Lupus, whom the Saxons,

when they made their way into Lothian, would recognise as Herman and Wolf. There are several Hermistons in different parts of the country. But I was rather surprised to find that the saint is called Herman in, I think, two out of the five old Latin lives published by the Bollandists. His date is, of course, long before that of the Franks and Burgundians, and though there were Teutonic settlements in Gaul when the Romans first invaded it, the circumstance has been so little noticed that Grimm, genius as he was, is puzzled about the identity of custom shown in Germanus' hanging up the heads of the game he killed, in his secular days, on a particular tree, with the sacrifice of horses' heads, by hanging them on the trees, by the Germans after their great victory over the Romans.

What rather complicates the matter is that the name of the tribe, the Catti, has a Celtic sound; but they were certainly fighting for, and as, Germans, and, on the other hand, Herman and Wulf are clearly Teutonic names. In truth, I believe there was no inevitable animosity between German and Celt; and even in England, thatbetween the Saxons and Welsh has certainly been exaggerated. In any case, the practice of hanging up the heads appeared to the bishop so decidedly pagan, that, in the absence of Germanus, he had the sacred pear-tree cut down. Apples are sacred or mysterious in the legends of nearly the whole old world, but I do not know of any other pear-tree particularly honoured.

The quarrel with the bold bishop which followed—Germanus is said to have been "dux" over the sixth part of France—and the great man's renouncing the world and entering the Church, resemble a story in the history of St. Martin, but not sufficiently to discredit either narrative. Germanus has a good deal of personal character, and the fact of his mission to Britain has never been doubted. Whether his going to Britain, as Bishop of Auxerre, along with Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, in 429, was entirely to combat the Pelagian heresy, or whether it was intended in a general way to strengthen the Church of the deserted Britons, they must have known they were taking their lives in their hands.

The story of the Allelujatic Victory, when the invading army of Saxons and Picts, who had interrupted the Easter baptism, were terrified by the shouting of the choir, and fled so precipitately that some of them were drowned in the water where the baptism was being performed; and Germanus's readiness in danger, and knowledge of what was likely to affect the nerves of a barbarian enemy, are all consistent with his having been a soldier; but Lupus was

certainly equally fearless; there are notices of him of extreme interest in Hodgkins' *Italy and her Invaders*.

A good deal of ink has been shed over the question of the locality where this happened; Whitaker wrote a large book to show that the place usually supposed, on the small river Alun, near the town of Mold, in Wales, had never been connected with it at all till the 17th century, and shows pretty distinctly that the identification originated with a dilettante clergyman of the neighbourhood, in the time of Charles I. After taking some trouble to see the locality, I do not think it is so entirely unlike the place required as Whitaker makes out; but the Maes y Garmon, or Field of Germanus, where an obelisk was put up in the last century, is a rising-ground among pasture-fields, at some distance, perhaps a third of a mile, from the nearest part of the river, and much more than that from the pretty wooded valley which closes it in higher up. I should say these fields had belonged to Llanarmon, in Yale, probably the nearest church of St. German, among the hills in which the Alun rises.

What makes the story so important for British history is the appearance of the Saxons, with certainty, in 429; their being in alliance with the Picts is nothing strange, for in the north they generally acted together, as long as both remained heathen, against the Britons and Scots, who were Christians. There are indications of a settlement of Saxons among the Picts, beyond the northern wall, not only before the Groans of the Britons, but before the Romans finally left the country. So, in fact, this circumstance goes to show the truth of the story.

Though Whitaker calls his book *The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall*, I do not think he commits himself to any locality in Cornwall or elsewhere; he may or may not have felt that the Picts were not likely to appear in Cornwall (or, by land, the Saxons either), especially so suddenly as to take everybody by surprise. But it is impossible to say how he would have liked my deduction from his own suggestion, that the series of rude works in Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire, called the Catrail, or Picts' Work Ditch, has been the frontier of Scottish Cumbria; the deduction is, that the place, of all others, likely to be the scene of the Allelujatic Victory is the Herman Law, above Chapelhope, at the head of the Loch of the Lowes, the smaller lake above St. Mary's Loch in Selkirkshire. The mediæval dedication of the chapel seems to have been St. Lawrence, but it is quite probable there was an earlier one. The essential point is the road leading through the hills into Cumbria

and part of the Yarrow valley, lower down, retains the name of Annan Street, the road into Annandale. There is water enough to drown any number of armies in the two lakes, but it is the short length of river, connecting the two lakes, that an enemy flying to the eastward would try to cross, and if flooded, it would be dangerous, with the deep lower lake below. This river would be crossed on the way to Hawick, some five-and-twenty miles to the east; and the slogan, or gathering-cry, of the town of Hawick in later times was "Terribus and Terri Odin"; which is now interpreted as an invocation to Tyr and Odin. And we know, from Kentigern's preaching against him (as the deified ancestor), that Odin was worshipped by the northern Saxons.

The Picts I suppose to have been the native Otadeni or Gadeni of the south of Scotland, Caledonians or people of the woods; for *Goden* is an old Welsh word for *wood*; indeed, I believe it to be quite as much the ancestor of the English word as the German

"wald" is.

I am far from thinking there were no Picts in England, but it is before the Roman occupation that they are traceable; as Dr. Angus Smith pointed out, all the more primitive inhabitants of Britain would naturally enter it by the south-east corner, where it is in sight from the continent. Two races of Britons are very distinctly indicated in Essex, and they seem to have been Gael and Britons, living under one government. The Ptolemy of 1535 has a Petuaria or Pictary that corresponds to Manningtree, north of Colchester, and from Scotch analogies this should be Tref-Mannan, the township of the Picts. The Stour, upon which it stands, is a Welsh ys dwr, "the water", while the Colne has probably really the same name as the Colwyn in Wales. Pictsbury Rampart is probably named, as far as the present use of the name goes, from the Domesday owner of the land to the west of Colchester, Roger Pictavensis, Roger from Poitou.

But, on the other hand, it is so evident that Bunduica, of which Boadicea is the current corruption, means the Woman Leader, being nearly the same as the modern Gaelic word for *duchess*, "Ban-diuc", Woman-Duke, that one can only wonder it has not been noticed before. She wore tartan robes, and I imagine the tartan has something to do with the name of the Picts; their historical name in Gaelic, Cruiney, meant "colour". Tattooing was too general to account for their distinctive names, as Hill Burton remarks, and as had, indeed, been remarked before his time.

H. RUSSELL.

ROMAN REMAINS.

No. 7.—LINCOLNSHIRE.

NOTE.—Works consulted, with Abbreviations chiefly used:

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Horsley's Britannia Romana, 1732.

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Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum.

Thompson's History of Boston, Lincolnshire.

INCOLNSHIRE, a maritime county, second only to Yorkshire in extent, abounds in Roman remains. In early days it was populated by the Corativi or Coriceni, an aboriginal race, who also included in their territory the neighbouring counties of Northampton, Leicester, Rutland, Nottingham, and Derby. Originally they sprang from Germany, and afford an illustration of those migrations of the Belgic race which are strikingly referred to by Cæsar in his description of Britain; they had, in association with the Iceni, sought alliance with the Roman Government, but, while submitting to the Imperial power, they adhered to ancient traditions and native customs, occupied the woods and forests, and cherished their independence.

The land comprised in the district known as the Fens was in early times covered by stagnant water. It was simply due to the marvellous skill and industry of the Roman colonists that so large an area became reclaimed. The waters upon which the canoes of the aboriginal tribes had once been steered, were directed to other channels, the land was drained, and protected by stupendous banks. As an illustration of the results achieved, it may be noted that the towns of Boston, Spalding, and Wisbeach could not have otherwise

existed; the influx of the spring tides would have precluded anything like building operations. It has been computed roughly that the construction of these banks, extending as they do for nearly 150 miles, require as much material as would, upon an average, be employed in making an English railway 200 miles in length.

The Car Dyke, the Foss Dyke, and the Westlode, to which ample reference will be found in the Index, represent these wonderful embankments, reared for the protection of the marsh lands from the inroads of the sea. The former covered a range of some 40 miles, was 60 feet in width, and upon it were erected forts at no less than seven places, Northborough, Braceborough, Billingborough, Garnick, Walcot, Linwood, and Washingborough. These triumphs of engineering skill were carried out under the direction of Catus Decianus, the Procurator stationed in Britain in Nero's reign.

Lindum or Lincoln was the capital, and one of the nine colonial cities which flourished in this province when vacated by the Romans. Lincoln is included in *Britannia Flavia*, which comprised the middle portion of the island, from the Thames to the Humber and Mersey. Its name, derived from *Lhin Dun*—"the forts by the pool"—became Latinised as *Lindum*, and from *Lindecollina* and *Lindo collyne*, to be found in later annalists, the transition is easy to Lincoln.

The Castle stands upon the hill, on the site of the Roman Castrum; the more ancient portion of the town, upon the lands reclaimed in the valley.

In the Itinerary of Antoninus, Lindum first appears in connection with the fifth iter, a line of road running straight from London to Carlisle. It is placed between Causennæ (Ancaster) and Segelocum or Littleborough, on the road to Danum (Doncaster). Again, in the sixth iter, which, starting from London, conducted the traveller to Lincoln, passing on the way Verulam (St. Alban's) on to Ratæ, the modern Leicester, Ad Pontem (Farndon), by the river Trent to Crocolana (Brough), and thence to Lincoln. In the eighth iter it is again mentioned on the line of road reaching from Eburacum (York) to the metropolis. In this journey it appears between Segelocum or Agelocum (Littleborough) and Brough. Another way ran from Lincoln to York. It proceeded from the former city to a station on the river Humber (Ad Abum), said to survive in the modern town of Winterton. Thence the river was crossed and a station reached, viz., Ad Petuariam (Brough) on the Humber, a site where many antiquities have been found.

Among the Roman remains at Lincoln, one of the most interesting is the Newport Gate or arch, the northern entrance to the city in the upper town. It is one of the finest examples of early Roman masonry existing. As at Peterborough and other Roman settlements, the great roads passed through cemeteries connected with the ancient city. Excavations have disclosed many interesting and valuable relics. Tombstones and other sepulchral memorials are numerous, both in our National Collection and in the city itself; sculptures and inscribed tablets are recorded and preserved, viz., one to Volusia Faustina and Claudia Catiola; another to Titus Valerius Pudens, son of Titus of the Second Legion; and a third to "Brusei filius civis Senoni." Of other sepulchral monuments, reference is due to one noticed with others in the Cathedral The lower portion, together with the inscription, is unfortunately lost. It represents a lady, an inhabitant, doubtless, of Roman Lindum, interesting as illustrating the head-dress and other details of costume adopted by the ladies of Roman Britain. She is attired in double tunics, the upper open, and disclosing what might well represent a modern frill; the hair is dressed in fashion customary during the time of Severus in the second century. She also wears a necklace of jet beads. This interesting memorial is illustrated by Mr. Roach Smith in the fifth volume of his Collectanea Antiqua. Among other relics to which no actual locality as to discovery is given, is a fine specimen of an iron sword, with portion of an ornamented scabbard of bronze; a fictile vessel, on which in painted letters are inscribed the words DEO MERCVRIO; an inscribed altar, discovered when excavating in the lower town, the dedication being to the Parcæ Deæ, divinities worshipped like the cult of the Deæ Matres by the Greeks and Romans. The inscription is of interest: it records that the altar was erected by one Frontinus, Curator of the Terræ or public lands attached to the colony of Lindum; every such settlement had lands assigned to it, from which revenue was drawn; and it would be the duty of this officer to look after such land and manage the income.

There are evidences of the existence of a Mint at Lindum, that is, if the exergual letters which occur upon some of the coins, viz., L. C., are correctly interpreted as meaning Lindum Colonia. The inference is supported by the survival in one of the most important localities in the city of the name "Mint Wall." The coins chiefly noted are those of Carausius, A.D. 287-293; Allectus, A.D. 293-296, and the Constantine family. It is well known that Saxon coins were minted at Lincoln. (Arch. Journ., xvii, 19; Assoc. Journ., xl, 125;

Camden, ii, 281, pl. xi; Celt, Rom., and Sax.; Coll. Ant., iii, 68, v, 147; Hübner, vii, 52; Lincoln Gazette, 15th March 1884; Proc. Soc. Ant., s. ii, 199.)

A tesselated pavement with hypocaust beneath has been described and illustrated. It was found within the precincts of the

city.

Of the military occupation of Lincoln but little is known. The recorded inscriptions illustrate but a slight connection with three of the legions stationed in Britain. They point, however, to the same period in the history of the occupation as those noted in Colchester, York, and eisewhere. The sepulchral memorial to the son of Titus of the Second Legion is of interest. It reminds us of that portion of the Roman army which remained in Britain longer than any other regiment. It enjoys the honour of having been commanded on its first arrival by Vespasian, afterwards Emperor engaged under Ostorius Scapula in the battle with Caractacus, but not in the great contest with Boadicea. Its commander killed himself in consequence of having missed the opportunity of distinction. Another memorial is recorded to the memory of a soldier of the 14th Legion. This regiment bore the brunt of the insurrection already referred to. Its headquarters were at Wroxeter. The Ninth Legion, likewise also nearly annihilated in this contest, has left evidences of its presence in the form of tombstones commemorating two of its number at Lincoln.

Amytoft, in Holbech, or Holbeach Parish, found in an enclosure: (a moated square), coins, spearhead, urns, with indications of early buildings.

Camden, ii, 235.

ANCASTER (CAUSENNÆ), now a village only. Occupies the site of a Roman station, twelve miles south of Lindum. Leland writes of it: "It hath been a celebrated towne, but not waullid, as far as I could perceive, etc." Coins, hoards of, numbering two thousand and fifty; latest of Aurelius' reign, the larger proportion of Victorinus, Claudius Gothicus, and the Tetrici, Stone inscribed to Constantius. Group of the Deæ Matres, illustrating the popularity of the worship of the Triad in Roman Britain. Mosaic pavements, etc. Camden, ii, 250; Harrison's Descrip. Britain, ii, 17; Horsley, 432; Num. Chron., v, 157. See ROADS.

ASHBY PUERORUM, sepulchral chest of freestone, containing an urn of green glass, nearly full of cinerated bones; and fragments of a small lachry-

matory. Arch., xii, 96, 98.

AUKBOROUGH, eleven miles from Barton. Identified by Stukeley with the Aquis of Ravennas. Castrum and vicinal road. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 220; *Itin.*

Curios., 91.

BELTON, a modern house of the Brownlows, an Irish family. In the grounds, and near to the Roman way, four cinerary urns were found, together with a large brass coin of Trajan. Camden, ii, 360.

- BOOTHAM, on the outskirts of Lincoln, pottery vase of white ware, inscription dedication to Mercury, pink ware sprinkled with mica, potter's name CAMARO, F. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, s. ii, iii, 440.
- BOULTHAM, near Lincoln. Bronze lamp in the form of a dragon, with sepulchral inscription to the memory of Sempronius Flavinius; mortuary urns. Arch. Journ. Lincoln Congress, 1848, 29.
- Boston, fort or garrison to defend the mouth of the Witham. Hammond Beck, near where the fort stood, crosses the road near to Bridge End, where it and the Car-dyke are not far asunder. The causeway points to the town, its formation illustrative of Roman work. Reynolds' Com. on Antonine Itinerary, 257; Thompson's Hist. of Boston, 1856, 17.
- BOTTESFORD, Roman tiles used for the conveyance of water found in a croft, east of the churchyard, hypocaust, tiles, and head of a jug discovered in the Pan Field, a quarter of a mile to the west of the church. Samian ware in the Manor Garden.†
- BROCKLESBY, eight miles from Caistor. Mortuary urns, cinerated bones and ashes, beads, combs, rings, and other personal ornaments. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 230.
- BROUGHTON or BARROW-TOWN, on the great road from Lincoln to the Humber. A military station, and in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, about the year 400, a prefect of the Dalmatian horse was stationed here, bricks, coins, tiles, and other relics. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 216.
- Burgh, remains of a Roman castrum, constructed for the protection of the sea-coast. Coins found in St. Mary's Churchyard (now demolished). Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 129.
- CAISTOR, military station, walls. Allen, Hist., ii, 225.
- CAR-DYKE, canal or drain, one of the greatest engineering works in the county, extends from the river Welland to the river Witham, its length about forty miles, upon each side a broad flat bank. Its formation led to the recovery of a vast tract of land known as the Lincolnshire level, banks were constructed for the protection of the lowlands from the inroads of the sea. Catus Decianus, the procurator in the reign of Nero, believed to have been the official who executed or superintended the extensive drainage operations for the protection of the fens. Salmon, in *The Survey of England*, says that *Cardyke* signifies no more than *Fendyke*, the fens of Ankholme Level are still called Cars. Allen, *Hist.*, i, 8; Carte, *History of England*, i, 115, 119, 122. See ROADS.
- CLEE, in the liberty of Grimsby. Depository for the storage of chalk for exportation in Roman times; to the north of the village and near to Grimsby; artificial mounds possibly used as beacons. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 244.
- CROXTON, in its vicinity. Yarborough camp and entrenched position of Roman date, situate on the ridge of the downs; coins in large numbers, among them some of the Emperor Licinius. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 230.
- DENTON, in the fields, near to the ancient seat of the Welby family, a mosaic pavement, 18 inches from the surface level, bricks, tile, and other débris, with foundations of buildings; site near to Salters Road, probably a way utilised by the Romans for bringing salt from Holland, over Brigend Causey to Leicester and other inland towns. Allen, Hist., ii, 315; Camden, ii, 251.
- DONINGTON, in a field known by the name of Ringlands. Fragments of cinerary urns, human and other bones. Allen, Hist., ii, 88.
- EDLINGTON, in draining a field in the year 1819 heaps of animal bones were

dug up; with each heap was included an urn of baked clay. Allen,

Hist., ii, 86.

FOSS-DYKE, a continuation of the Car-Dyke which skirted the fens from Peterborough to Lincoln, led from the latter to the Trent, to enable boats to pass on to the Humber (see Roads); bronze figure representing Mars, with a plumed helmet, inscribed with a dedication by Bruccius and Caratius. Allen, Hist., i, 6; Arch., xiv, 273; Camden, ii, 280, pl. xi; Hübner, vii, 52.

GEDNEY, hill in the parish of Gedney. Coins of Antoninus and débris of

buildings. Camden, ii, 234.

GAINSBOROUGH, adjoining Park House, two miles south-east of the town, are several encampments, the largest almost square, and measuring about two hundred and ninety feet on the outside; width of the fosse, twenty feet. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 26.

GRANTHAM, on the Ermine Street. Coins of Claudius and Antoninus. Allen,

Hist., ii, 300; Camden, ii, 360.

HACEBY, tesselated pavement, seven miles east of Grantham, on the side of a hill by the Bridge End Turnpike; slates and figured tiles, with other traces of buildings. G. M., 1818, i, 634.

HARLAXTON, near to Grantham. In the year 1740 an urn was found containing burnt bones, with coins of Gallienus and Claudius Gothicus. Allen, Hist.,

ii, 315.

HIBALDSTON, four miles from Brigg, on the road to Barton. To the west of the village, foundations of Roman buildings, probably the site of the station "In Medio", being about an equal distance between Lincoln and the Humber. Allen, Hist., ii, 217.

HOLYWELL HALL, bead of a reddish coloured agate, found in an aged tree; bronze armilla, steelyard or scale for weighing; pottery. Arch. Journ.,

Lincoln Congress, 1848, p. 29.

HORKSTOW, near to the High Street, or Old Street, leading from Lincoln to the Humber. Mosaic pavements exceptionally fine; walls, frescoes, and the usual debris attached to an extensive range of buildings; pottery, etc.

Lysons, Reliq. Britann. Romanæ (coloured plates and sections).

HORNCASTLE, military station, presumed to be the "Banovallum" of the geographer Ravennas. Traces of a massive enclosing wall nearly 600 feet long by 350 feet broad on the east and 300 on the west. Without the walls, the fields abound with sepulchral remains, cinerary urns with coins both of the Higher and Lower Empire. Allen, Hist., ii, 90-91. Weir's Horncastle, 5.

HUNNINGTON, near Ancaster. Roman Camp, entrenched entrance on the east side; coins in urns; horse furniture with weapons. Camden, ii, 250.

KESTEVEN; one of the three divisions into which the county is divided. In the vicinity Camden places Margidunum (probably Bridgeford) next station after Verometum (near Willoughby) to Ad Pontem, probably identified with the modern village of Farndon. In Deping Fen, fibula, gilt and enamelled swords, etc. Camden, ii, 227-43; Celt, Roman, and Saxon, p. 127.

LINCOLN (Lindum Colonia), see Introduction. Quaintly described by Bray in his Diary of Evelyn, i, 30, as being an old confused town, very long, uneven, steep, and ragged.

CASTLE, gateway or sally-port walled up in the western wall; considered to have been the west wall of the Roman Castrum, mound of earth

removed; the gate of tower exposed, buried by earth by order of William the Conqueror, when the castle was erected; accidentally uncovered in the year 1836. It was in a ruinous condition, and fell down within a few days after its discovery. Previous to this a drawing had been made; the great arch resembled that of Newport Gate, but had no posterns; coins, pavements, and pottery. Assoc. Journ., xxxv, 310; G. M., 1786, ii, 540; 1836, 18; 1842, 351.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL, about a mile to the east of the building, and in some stone quarries, coins of Hadrian have been found, also cinerated bones in urns. Camden, ii, 4.

BAILGATE, coins of Nero, Lucius Verus, Constantine, etc., columns and other architectural fragments, sculptures and inscribed stones, excavations near the Mint wall in 1878; discovery of four columns standing on two fronts north and east upon a stone floor a little above the level of the ancient road; around them many relics, such as glass and pottery, a bronze key, and fragments of iron work; inscribed milliarium found at the junction of the four great ways, it recorded the name of Victorinus the Pious, one of the "thirty tyrants" who rebelled in the reigns of Gallienus and Valerian, and the inscription concludes with the information that from Lindum to Segelocum is fourteen miles. Assoc. Journ., xxxv, 315, 316; Proc. Soc. Ant., ii, vii, s. 433, 436.

EASTGATE, in a quarry in the east field near to the eastern entrance to the city, sepulchres, chest or sarcophagus of stone, contained ashes, sand, and charred bones from the same cemetery; a glass urn, also decorated pottery; traces of interments by inhumation; later excavations on the same site, a perfect male skeleton, at his right arm an urn full of earth and bones, upon his left a jar of glittering glass, containing a metal spoon; a mortuary urn was likewise placed at the feet, near to the large glass bottle; pieces of black and yellow pitch. Arch., x, 345; xii, 108, 113.

—— SOUTHGATE, opposite to Newport Arch, and of similar construction, ninety feet north of the Bailgate. Destroyed in the early part of the last century, but with great difficulty, owing to the solidity and strength of the masonry, and the ingenious manner in which the several stones had been fitted together, each block forming, as it were, a keystone to the arch.

—— HIGH STREET, roundel or tessera of bone, ornamented with small impressed circles, associated with other remains of the Roman age. Arch. Journ., Lincoln Meeting Arch. Inst., 1848, 28.

—— ST. MARY'S CHURCH, monumental stone, sepulchral and inscribed (in the church wall), found in the year 1724, in a field behind the house where Lord Hussey was beheaded for rebellion in the reign of Henry VIII, opposite to John of Gaunt's house. *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 15; Camden, ii, 374; Horsley, 319; Hübner, vii, 53; *Itin. Curios.*, i, 86, 91.

Mechanics' Institution, in the museum, a cast of inscribed tablet found opposite the City gaol, to the memory of Crisis, who lived ninety years in the house of one Claudia; also a second cast from another inscription, preserved in the cloister of the cathedral, to the memory of Flavius Helius; bronze lamp in the form of a dragon, sepulchral inscription to the memory of Sempronius Flavinius. Arch. Journ., xvii, 8; G. M., xii, 1840, 79; Hübner, vii, 53; Arch. Journ., Lincoln Congress, 1848, 29.

MONSON STREET, inscribed "cippus", character of letters suggestive of Vespasian's reign, tablet with inscription. Arch. Journ., xvii, 18; Hübner, vii, 52; Arch. Journ., Lincoln, 1848, 28.

LINCOLN, NEWPORT ARCH or PORTWAY GATE, not the decuman or principal gate of the city, but a subordinate entrance. Stukeley writes of it "as being the noblest remnant of the sort in Britain." The arch consisted of a lofty centre and two sideways, the larger for carriages, the other for pedestrians; it is built of stones, and without a key, has defied the effects of time, and still justifies the opinion expressed by the historian. Armlets, jet ornaments, necklets, pins, etc., on the breast of a skeleton, votive tablet found in the wall. Arch. Journ., xvii, 4; Brit. Mus.; Camden, ii, 392 (pl. xii, fig. 3); Assoc. Journ., xxxv, 310; G. M. xiii, 79; Hübner, vii. 53.

—— SALT HOUSE LANE, portion of the cemetery belonging to Roman Lincoln, inscribed stone of altar-like form, triangular features on either side, has reference to a soldier of the ninth legion. G. M., 1866, i, 816;

Hübner, vii, 52; Reliquary, vii, 16.

THE SALT WAY, entered the county not far from Saltby, crossed the Witham at Saltersford, near to the town of Ponton. Hist. of Boston, 13.

WALL, around the brow of Steep Hill, a natural escarpment, was reared the massive wall for the enclosure of the city; it was pierced by four gates, and enclosed an area of five hundred by four hundred yards. In method of construction the Roman masonry resembles that already de-

scribed at Colchester, London, York, and other places.

ROADS, radiating to and from Lindum. Of the great highways in Britain, only three have any connection with Lincolnshire, viz., Ermine Street, the Foss, and the Saltway. The Ermine Street entered the county a little to the west of Stamford, thence by Castor (Durobrivæ) to the ninetysixth milestone on the great north road, thence to the east of Navensby, Boothby, and Bracebridge, on to Lincoln. The course was then due north, through Spittal, Broughton, and Appleby, to Winterton (Ad Abum), a station on the banks of the Humber. A second branch turned off, after crossing the river Nene in Northamptonshire, on to Lotham Bridge, Kates Bridge, Thirlby Bourn, Cawthorpe, Hanthorp, Stanefield, Aslackby, to the east of Folkingham and Freckingham, then in a direct line on to Old Place, near Sleaford, across the river and a little to the left of Ruskington, Donington, Digby, Rowston, Blankney, Metheringham, Dunstan, Nocton, Potterhamworth, and Branston, on to Lincoln. Both roads entered the city at a place known as the Stanbord or Stonebord, where they parted, the first leading up to the Portway or Newport Gate, the other running by the eastern side of the ancient city on to Leicestershire via Saltley. Roman roads have also been identified at Ravensbank or Romansbank, Pinchbeck, Bicker, Wainfleet, Burgh, Somercoates, Scarth, Grimsby, Stallingborough, Harburgh, Thornton, Barrow, Barton, Wintringham, and Alkborough. A road (name unknown) from Doncaster to the north of Lincoln, thence via Horncastle and Little Steeping to Wainfleet. Itin. Curiosum; Assoc. Journ., xxxv, 354.

LUDFORD, on the road between Louth and Market Rasen. Coins and other

relics. Allen, Hist., ii, 69.

MARTON, a village on a Roman way, known as Tillbridge Lane, leading from the Ermine Street to the river Trent. Allen, Hist., ii, 47.

MISSINGHAM, coins, third brass.+

NERTHORPE, sculpture, but in a fragmentary condition. Coins, gold aureus of Maximian, A.D. 292-311, a fine specimen found in drainage works some thirty years since.†

- NEW ROAD, portion of an ancient conduit for the supply of water to Lindum. Camden, ii. 366.
- NORTH KYME, near to Sleaford. Encampment on the line of road running through the parish of Ewerby on to Horncastle. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 276.
- SOUTH ORMESBY, encampment covering nearly three acres of land within the area. Artificial mounds. Coins chiefly of Constantine have been found, both within and near it. Allen, Hist., ii, 177; Beauties of England and Wales, ix, 714.
- PONTON, near to the river Witham. Coins, pavements, and formerly an ancient bridge, situate on the great military highway, and said by Camden to be identified with the station Ad Pontem (?) by Horsley at Southwen. Coins: one of Trajan in silver; bricks, mosaic pavements, and urns. The fosseway, paved with blue flagstones laid on edge, runs by this place from Newark to Leicester. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 316; Camden, ii, 227-250.
- ROXBV, tesselated pavements. Abraham de la Prynne's Diary, Surtees Society, liv, 212; Camden, ii, 388; Vetusta Monumenta, ii, pl. ix; Proc. Soc. Ant., s. ii, vi, 114, 115.
- SANTON, a hamlet, so named from the flying sands there. Traces of a Roman pottery, remains of furnaces, coins, fragments of urns, etc. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 220.
- SAXBY, ten miles from Lincoln. Remains of Roman villa near to the parish church. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 35.
- SAXELBY, at the side of the river Witham. Sepulchral tablet with inscription. Arch. Journ., Lincoln Congress, 1848, p. 28.
- SCAMPTON, a village situated about a mile distant from the Ermine Street, which forms the eastern boundary of the parish. Roman villa discovered in the year 1795, enclosed an area of 200 square feet, upwards of forty rooms or chambers, tesselated pavements and painted walls. Of thirteen floors one only entire (this destroyed by the severity of the weather in the winter of 1815-16). Engraving of it published in Illingworth's Topog. Account of Scampton. In two of the rooms were human skeletons. Allen, Hist., ii, 58.
- Scopwith. Coin, large brass of Trajan. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, Ser. 11, vi, 75. Semperingham. Beads and other personal ornaments, urn or vase of light red ware; figure of Victory with hare behind her. Camden, ii, 246.
- SLEAFORD, town built of stone. Coins of Nero, Commodus, and Constantius. Castle built upon Roman débris, situate in Old Sleaford or Quarington parish (see ROADS). Camden, ii, 247.
- SPALDING. Coins found in the year 1745, an urn near to the bank of the river Lenda, another of red ware, twelve inches in diameter, beneath the roots of an ash-tree. Camden, ii, 238; Phil. Trans., 279, 1156.
- SPITTAL IN THE STREET, a hamlet in the parish of Hemswell, thus named from an ancient hospital and its situation on the Roman way running from Lincoln to the Humber. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 37.
- STAMFORD, near to the High Street. Roman pavement of rude material; stones and other dibris. G. M., 1839, ii, 527.
- STURTON IN THE STREET, anciently known as Stretton or Street-town, from its situation on the way branching from the Ermine Street to Agelocum or Littleborough Ferry. Allen, *Hist.*, ii, 47.
- SUMMER CASTLE, in the parish of Fillingham. In the grounds adjoining the castle indications of a Roman camp, coins, spears, swords, and bridle ornaments; stone coffin containing human bones, cased in searcloth and

lead, with the vacancies filled up with liquid lime and alabaster. Allen.

TATTERSHALL or TATESHALL, a summer military station, encampments in Tattershall Park. Coins found in different parts of the parish. Hist., ii, 72.

TETFORD, encampments in the parish of South Ormsby. Arch. Journ.,

Lincoln Congress, 182.

TORKSEY, Roman town, built near the river. Camden, iii, 361.

WAINFLEET, ALL SAINTS', affirmed by Stukeley to mark the site of the station Venonæ, mentioned by Ravennas; an ancient landing place or haven, near to a place called Northolm. Allen, Hist., ii, 116; Itin. Curios.,

WASHINGBOROUGH, near the river Witham. Examples of the British cleddyr, or leaf-shaped sword of bronze, associated with mortuary vessels of greycoloured ware, belonging to the Anglo-Roman age. Assoc. Journ., xi, 263.

WALESBY, coins of Gordian, Constantine, and Constantius and Constans; chisel, hand mills, Samian pottery, spindle whorls, cinerary urns, walls of buildings, etc. The site commands a view of the city, and within a few minutes' walk of the Humber and the sea. G. M., 1861, i, 683.

WESTLODE, THE, one of the most ancient drains in Holland, constructed by the Romans when they raised the stupendous banks in the marshes against the sea, in order to carry off the upland waters, by its communication with the Welland at Spalding. See ROADS. Allen, Hist., i, 7.

WELBOURN, in the valley stretching from Grantham to Lincoln, near to the Ermine Street or High Dyke, thither from Londinium to Lindum; adjoining the Rectory grounds are earthworks, those to the north being Roman, the others of later date. In addition to early British remains, Roman coins have been found belonging to the reigns of Gallienus, Tetricus, and Valens. Assoc. Journ., xxxv, 278.

WINTERTON, indications of potteries, remnants of kilns, containing ashes, plaster, and pottery; tesselated pavements, one thirty feet long and nineteen broad: subject, Orpheus playing on the lyre, surrounded by animals. Allen, Hist., ii, 223; Proc. Soc. Ant., s. II, iv, 190; Reliquary, ix, 145.

WINTERINGHAM, a straggling place, washed at its base by the Humber. Chimney stones, pavements, and traces of streets constructed of sand and gravel. Allen, Hist., ii, 222.

WORLABY, between Louth and Horncastle. Coins of the Antonines and Tetricus Senior; glass pottery, flanged roofing tiles, building materials, and minor objects. Proc. Soc. Ant., s. II, viii, 368.

JOHN E. PRICE, F.S.A.

Note.—For a reference to the localities marked with an obelus † I am indebted to Edward Peacock, Esq., F.S.A., of Bottesford Manor, Brigg. They are not mentioned in the early county histories, the discoveries being of a comparatively recent date.

NOTES FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

No. 7.—Notes of Two Journeys into Siam.

I .- The Laos State of Nan, Siam.

THE town Muang Nān is situated about a quarter of a mile from the right bank of the river, is inclosed by four walls of unequal length, in good repair, and from 12 ft. to 14 ft. high, and has one or two gates on each side. The houses are for the most part neat and clean-looking, and good paths intersect the town in all directions. The palace, if such it can be called, of the chief, is in the centre. It differs little from the houses of his sons, with the exception, perhaps, of being somewhat larger.

The most striking part of it is a small building of brick, with figures of fabulous animals before it, which we found was the library in which books and documents were kept.

On an empty space in front of the palace stands the Sanām, or court-house.

We found that a son of the chief had died some months before, just after his return from a visit to Bangkok, and that his cremation was now going on.

The principal Chaos, the Uparāt, Rachawong, Suriya, Mahapom, and Borom, are all sons of the chief. The Rachawong was away with the Siamese troops engaged in subduing the Haws near Luang Phrabang. All the others we saw during our stay.

We were lodged in a good "salā", the best of a group of six or seven of these resting-places situated outside the walls.

At the north-east corner of the wall there is a row of small bamboo sheds on each side of the road leading northward, in which native cloths and European goods are sold by Shans and others. These are the only shops at Nān. There were only about ten Chinese resident in or near the town, and they appeared to have but little trade in their hands.

About two miles distant on the road alluded to above is the "old town", consisting of a considerable number of houses, some of them of large size. It was formerly surrounded by a substantial palisade, some portions of which still remain, and good teak posts were lying scattered about in all directions. It appears that Nān was first

built on its present site, afterwards the people removed to the "old city", and then the present town was built.

The "thalāt", or market, is held every morning near the Palace, but there is little exposed for sale except native provisions. These are spread on banana leaves on the ground in front of a row of women on each side of the road. A similar market, but smaller, is held in the "old city".

Outside the town and behind the "salās" is a Tongsu settlement.

The most important "wat" in the town is Wat Poomintarachā, a square building, with a fine quadruple figure of Buddha in the centre. Here we found an old priest who had been to England some three or four years ago with some Burmese who went to sell precious stones, and was still full of his adventures.

The members of the Sanām have to attend every day for about four hours in the afternoon.

One of their number gave us information concerning the laws and customs of Nan.

For stealing an elephant, killing an elephant, a buffalo, or a bullock, the punishment is death. Murder and housebreaking are also punished with death. A person detected in smoking opium is imprisoned for three years, and for a second offence he would probably be put to death.

This system appears to work well, there having been no execution during the year then current, and only one the year before, while there were only four or five prisoners at the time of our visit.

The members of the Sanām receive no pay; but while we were at Nān a quantity of salt was brought in as tribute from some mines or springs about four days' journey from the town, and each of the members of the Sanām received a portion of this as well as the chief. It is also customary when an elephant is sold for the buyer to pay 16 rupees, and the seller 4 rupees, as fees to the Sanām.

With regard to slaves, every man of the lower orders must be enrolled at the Sanām as the slave of some master, but he is allowed to choose whom he will serve, and if he does not like one he may re-enrol himself as the slave of another, his own name being then changed. A slave is fed by his master while he is working for him, but at other times he must feed himself. No purchase-money is paid for him by his owner.

No one is allowed to catch the wild elephants, which are to be found within a few days' journey of the town, except those who are appointed by the chief, and if a captive elephant dies the tusks must be sold to the chief at a fixed rate.

During the first three days of our stay we went daily to see the cremation ceremonies, which took place in the open space in front of the palace, the chief and his sons looking on from bamboo sheds crected for the purpose.

The first day we saw some boxing by young Laos, which the people seemed never tired of watching. Some novel features to Europeans were the postures and grimaces which seemed to be considered an essential part of the fighting, and the use of the feet, in which some of the combatants were rather dexterous, occasionally dealing their antagonists a smart blow in the face with them.

On the second day, in addition to the boxing, a game was played which bore some resemblance to football. A large cocoanut well greased was thrown amongst a number of young men, who then struggled to get possession of it, and the one who managed to get away with it to the other end of the ground received a prize.

After the ceremony of throwing limes containing two-anna pieces amongst the crowd had taken place, the "prasāt", or wooden structure containing the urn, was borne aloft on the shoulders of about ninety men, and carried out to a place on the bank of the river, about a quarter of a mile from the walls, followed by a long procession, in which were the sons of the chief with their attendants. In accordance with the barbarous custom prevalent here, the "prasāt" was opened and the body taken out and stripped of all its coverings before the pyre was lighted by the Uparāt.

II .- The Vice-Consular District of Chiengmai, Siam.

Chiengdāo and Müang Ngāi.—On this plain, separated only by a few miles of forest, are situated Chiengdāo and Müang Ngāi, both mere villages surrounded by the wooden palisade usually erected, I believe, to denote the seat of government of the province rather than for purposes of defence.

Frontier Settlements.—It is a curious fact that the families of the unfortunate people who are accused of being "phi ka", or evil spirits, are usually banished from Chiengmai to Chiengdāo; this is, perhaps, among the first signs of the policy of encouraging settlements on the frontier districts which has since undergone such great development. Müang Ngāi is evidently of later foundation, and the Lao settlements scarcely extend further north. But settlers, mostly Ngios, have recently occupied Müang Pāi to the west and Müang Na to the north-west.

Müang Ngai to Müang Fang.—The route from Müang Nga to Müang Fang crosses the chain of mountains which divides the basin of the Nam Khong1 from that of the Më Ping. Passing through rich teak forests the path rises gradually, with only an occasionally steep ascent, until, towards the close of a long day's journey by elephant, the highest pass is reached, at an altitude of about 2,750 feet. After a steep declivity the valley opens out into an extensive plateau, and on the face of a hill jutting out on it is the "Tham-Tab-tao", a cave of great fame to which pilgrimages are made from all parts of the country. It contains an altar where, as usual, offerings are made to numerous images of Buddha; for the Buddhists of this country hardly ever omit to erect a shrine at any spot where a natural marvel strikes the imagination with awe or wonder. The cave is large and probably of great depth, but, outside of its religious character, it has little attraction for a traveller, and the path leading to it is so rough that it hardly deserves a visit.

Müang Fāng.—The Province of Müang Fāng consists of the valley of the Më Fāng, which is of considerable length, but narrow.

The seat of government of the settlement is a large village occupying the site of the old capital; the old ditch or embankment is still visible, and the ruins of numerous temples testify to the former importance of the city. It is said to have been destroyed about 170 years ago by the Burmese. I think, however, that the place was not entirely deserted till after the middle of the last century. That the valley of the Më Fang formerly contained a large population is proved by the most reliable evidence—the number of temples in ruins strewn close to both banks down to the junction with the Më Khok; and that the country was well cultivated is shown by the present stunted vegetation. But the land close to the river is said to be at present so subject to high floods that no cultivation is possible; this curious fact may be due to some impediment of recent formation in the lower course of the river. There is, however, still a large extent of country well suitable to cultivation, and labour alone is required to bring the province to its former state of prosperity. I was informed that 320 ruined temples have been counted within the province, and this number probably does not include all; innumerable figures of Buddha strewn about these ruins are left undisturbed. I may, by the way, mention as an instance of the wrong impression made on an important people by unscrupulous travellers,

¹ More commonly known as the Me Kong or Cambodia River.

that I was told by some of the earlier settlers and by officials of the province, that "a former British Consul had purloined a number of Buddhas from the temples". This remark referred to a European traveller who some years ago attempted to take away some of these images.

Colonies of Aliens in Siam.—This is characteristic of all the settlements in Siam, both in the larger cities and in the provinces. In Bangkok the inhabitants of the different quarters have gradually become amalgamated, but not far from the capital the colonies of former captives of war still retain their language and customs, and keep up little intercourse with their conquerors. In the northern country the separation is as complete, and the town of Chiengmai, for instance, is divided into numerous quarters, inhabited almost exclusively by people of a different race; and many of the villages in the province are also colonies of refugees or captives.

"Thai" Race.—In my opinion, the country of the Thai Yai (literally "great Siamese"), or its vicinity, is the cradle of the Thai people, who have thence gradually flowed southward. The Thai family has numerous divisions, differing more or less in appearance, language, and costume, though it is not difficult to trace the common type through all. As a broad distinction I think it may be said that the type has been modified by mixture with the neighbouring races. Thus, the Shans bordering on China must show traces of Chinese blood, and those on the west of the Salween of their long intercourse with the Burmese; while, on the south, intermixture with the Peguan, Malay, Cambodian, and Annamite races has, to all appearances, produced the present Siamese type. The whole subject of the gradual development and modifications of the Thai race is a very interesting one from an ethnological point of view, and, in the absence of any records, I think is well worthy of research for the light it may throw on the early history of Indo-China.

Laos.—It is curious how the name of "Thai", or "free", is claimed by different branches of the family. It is only the Siamese that give the name of Lao to the people of these States, and, for some reason, the latter do not consider it at all complimentary, and apply it only to the white-bellied people of the basin of the Nam Khōng, beyond Müang Nan. These are, I believe, sometimes called "Lao Yuen" by the Siamese; it is also curious that the Upper Shans designate the Laos as "Yuen", the Siamese name for the Annamites.

Shans.—The Shans of the basin of the Salween call themselves, and are called by the Laos, "Ngios". I need hardly state that the name of "Shan" is given to the Thai people by the Burmese alone; but, while usage may render it convenient to retain it as the designation of all the people of the States formerly tributary to Burmah, it is, I think, more convenient to adopt the Siamese name of Lao for the people of the northern and eastern States tributary to Siam.

Më Khok.—After crossing the Më Fang the road passes through some new settlements, and then through a broad belt of bamboo forest extending as far as the Më Khok. This river, the most important tributary of the Nam Khong from the five Lao States, drains a considerable extent of country, and is here, at least as broad and deep as the Më Ping at Chiengmai. On the south side is a small Lao village, but on the north bank is a settlement of Ngios, subject to Chiengtung; and there was here a striking difference in the appearance of the people, as well as in their rude houses, with the low roof sloping down to within a few feet from the ground. The village of Wieng Kë is small, but on the day of my arrival a considerable addition to its population was made by a number of settlers from Müang Tuen. Wieng Kë is said to be on the site of a former town of the same name, which was probably a place of some importance; a deep ditch still shows the limits of the old town. Not far distant, and close to the mouth of the Më Fang, are the ruins of an old temple called "That sob Fang", to which pilgrimages are still frequently made.

From Wieng Kë a path leads northwards to Chiengtung, across mountains inhabited by Kuis and Musös. The former are a hill tribe inhabiting the mountains of Chiengtung, but the latter are scattered further south in the mountainous tract lying between Müang Fāng and Chiengsën, and occupy also the hills directly to the north of these provinces.

The Musös.—The Musös are probably, like the other hill tribes, the aboriginal people of Indo-China. In appearance they are unlike either Laos or Shans, though it is not easy to point out any marked difference in physiognomy. The language of the Musös appears to have no affinity with that of the Thai family; they have no written character, and are not Buddhists; but, as far as I could comprehend, appear to have no religious ideas beyond a vague dread of spirits. Their habits are extremely dirty, and it is probably due to this and to their low style of living that their physique is generally so poor. Like all the people of Indo-China,

their staple food is rice; but, unlike the Laos, they do not raise it on low land or valleys.

Cultivation by Hill Tribes.—Their system of cultivation is one that is very largely practised in Indo-China, and I believe in some parts of India, where it is styled "joorning". It is adopted to some extent by the Laos themselves, but, on a small scale, and not usually on a mountainous country. The side of a hill is chosen where the declivity is not too steep or the surface too uneven; the forest is then cleared during the cold season and all the trees felled. When, in the hot months, the timber has become sufficiently dry fire is set to it, and the ashes so fertilise the soil, that it produces almost invariably a rich crop; fresh soil must, however, be prepared next year, for after the first year this manure has lost most of its virtue, or has been mostly washed away. This constant opening up of fresh soil necessarily renders these people nomadic. Having chosen the spot for the next year's work, a few families construct some small, mean huts, the floor being sometimes on the level of the ground or sometimes raised a few feet from it, and here they remain only until the crop has been gathered. The rice is small and of a reddish colour, but tasty; and the cotton, which is almost invariably cultivated, is of good quality. Besides this, they raise chillies and tobacco.

Hill Tribes, or Khas.—It would be interesting to ascertain whether there is any affinity between the various hill-tribes scattered over the mountains of at least this part of Indo-China, such as in Chiengtung, the Musös, Kuis, and Kaws. The latter are said to murder mercilessly any stranger that ventures into their country; but this common account of the Kaws probably has no better foundation than the exaggerated dread of the Thai race of the hill-tribes, who, they declare, practise magic arts on all outsiders. The Lawas are partly in Chiengtung, and partly in Chiengmai, where they are commonly spoken of as the aborigines of this country. To the east of the Nam Khong are the Khamus, Lamets, and other numerous tribes of Khas. The Khamus now emigrate in large numbers to these provinces, and supply the best labour to foresters; they appear to be of better physique and of superior intelligence to the Musös. They are a very numerous tribe, the greater part of whom occupy the mountains of Luang Phrabang, but some are in the Province of Nan. This State appears to have acquired suzerainty also over the Lamets, who occupy the mountainous region on the left bank of the Nam Khong, extending to the north of Chieng Khong beyond the parallel of Chiengtung.

The Lamets differ from the Khamus in language, but not much in appearance. They are easily distinguished from them, however, by the manner of tying their hair in a knot lower back on the head than the Khamus. Also, instead of the coarse blue cotton trousers and jackets of the Khamus, the only article of apparel of the Lamets is a narrow piece of cloth tied round the waist and between the legs. They are said to be also a very considerable tribe, able to bring a force of 3,000 or 4,000 men on the field. Following the example of the Khamus, some of these people now come to seek labour as far as the forests of Chiengmai, and, like them, they lay out their hard-earned wages in the purchase of gongs, which appear to constitute the sole attributive of wealth in their native villages. I cannot vouch for the correctness of the information given me regarding the Lamets, but it is very probable that the style of living and the system of cultivation of any of these hill-tribes applies equally well to all.

Siamese Frontier Fort.—The fort is some ten miles to the north of this cave; it is a small stockade on the south bank of the Më Sai, and around it are a few houses inhabited by Lao settlers. On the hills not far from the foot are some Musö villages, which I took the opportunity of visiting; and close to it, but on the north bank of the Më Sai, are some prosperous villages of Chiengtung

subjects.

These people are not Khöns, as many of the people of Chiengtung, but Ngios, and probably settlers from the country close to the Salween. They are easily distinguished from the Laos, with whom they have many points of dissimilarity in manner, dress, and language, but to describe them would be to describe the Upper Shans. From such observations as I have had the opportunity of making, I have concluded that the Laos of these States bear closer resemblance in every respect to the Khöns, the dominant race of Chiengtung, than to any other branch of the Thai family.

Settlement of Müang Phān.—The history of this small province is interesting, as showing in what manner colonies are effected, and how confusing are the boundaries of the different states. The country was evidently deserted during the early part of this century; later, a part of it was occupied by people from Lakhon, who, however, afterwards withdrew further south. About fifty years ago a settlement was made by people from Lamphun, who have since gradually brought the country to its present prosperous condition. Müang Phān is, therefore, governed by the state of Lamphun, though not adjacent to it; but both Lakhon on the south and

Chienghai on the north lay claim to at least a portion of the little province.

Formation of Colonies.—Whilst at Müang Phān, I witnessed another phase in the formation of settlements in this country, The chief of Chiengsën having received permission to establish in his province a number of the inhabitants of Müang Phān, proceeded, in the language of the country, to drive the people into the new colony. However sound may be this policy of migration, it was impossible not to commiserate the unfortunate people who were thus driven from a comfortable home into a bare, uncultivated country, where it would cost them many years of struggle to recover only a portion of their former prosperity. Unable to dispose at so short a notice of their houses, their gardens, and fertile rice-fields, they were compelled to abandon everything that could not be easily transported. I met many of these families, some carrying their children, or perhaps the domestic fowl, in their arms, and some such few household goods as they were able to remove.

Phayāo.—Phayāo lies to the south of this lake and has some importance, chiefly as the seat of this trade, and as a station on the important route from Chienghai to the southern Lao provinces. Close outside the walls is a temple remarkable for an immense image of Buddha; tradition tells that a marsh was filled up on which the temple, and subsequently the town, were built.

Information from Natives.—No reliance, however, can be placed on information given by natives, whatever their position may be, for, beyond matters of daily requirement, they take no pains to ascertain any facts which are usually considered interesting and important by foreigners. For this reason I have excluded from this report a great deal of interesting, but not reliable, information.

Superstition.—I may mention as a curious instance of the superstitious character of the Laos, and, at the same time, of their good-will, that in Müang Suet I was waited upon by a deputation of the Headmen of the villages, who warned me of the danger to which I was exposing myself by encamping too close to a large tree. This was said to be the dwelling of the spirit of the province, which never fails to wreak vengeance on any intruder. Daily offerings are made to the spirit, and no one ventures close to the tree at night.

History of Milang Nan.—The natural difficulties of the route have been utilised in a most remarkable manner for the liberation of the country from the domination of the Burmese. The following narrative, given me on the authority of the Chief of Nan, throws

some light on a most interesting epoch of the history of the country, and is especially worthy of notice, as I believe no written record of the occurrences exists. In former times, when the country contained a far smaller population than at present, a Chief of Chiengmai sent two "phyas", or Headmen, to colonise Müang Nan. One of them, named Phya Tun, remained, and one of his descendants in the latter part of the last century was a young man named Noi Atha. About or after the time of the taking of the capital of Siam by the Burmese (A.D. 1767), the latter were in possession of Müang Nan, and Noi Atha served under them against the Siamese. He committed great slaughter, but was ultimately taken prisoner. pleaded that he had been forced to take up arms against his will, and the King of Siam offered him his pardon on condition that he would faithfully serve the Siamese against Burmah. Noi Atha resolved to prove himself deserving of this act of clemency and to free his country from the Burmese yoke. Pretending that he had escaped from the Siamese, he repaired to Burmah, and induced the Burmese general, who never doubted his fidelity, to send a force to Nan. Müang Thöng, on the north-west, was first chosen as the headquarters, and Noi Atha undertook to push forward and make preparations for the further progress of the army. Having concerted measures with his countrymen, he invited the Burmese to proceed to the capital. A force of 4,000 men started, but when they had entered the dangerous gorge of the Më Si-phan, the Laos, who were lying in wait for them, hurled rocks from the overhanging heights, and closing in on each side, exterminated the Burmese force. Thus the stream came to acquire its present name of Më Si-phan, "The River of the Four Thousand." Noi Atha was rewarded by the King of Siam with the high title of "Chao Fa Atha", or prince, and became the first of the Chiefs of Nan, who have since remained tributary to Siam. The successors of Chao Noi Atha were his relatives, but the present chief, the fourth of the line, is his son. He is, I believe, the oldest of the chiefs tributary to Siam, and it is remarkable that his sons are vested with all the high offices of the State.

Lao Customs and Laws.—It is here that many of the laws and customs of the country are still preserved which have fallen into disuse in the more western States, probably owing to more frequent intercourse with the Siamese, whose manners, language, and dress the Laos are always eager to imitate. Thus, the criminal code of Nan is of the old Draconic severity. The punishment for theft and robbery is death, and as it is often applied, the province enjoys a most

enviable immunity from crime, and its people a very wide reputation for honesty. Capital punishment is not so commonly applied in the more western States, and more often the less effective, but more profitable, punishment is adopted of seizing also the family of the criminal and reducing them all to slavery, as well as confiscating their property.

People.—The people of Nan are no doubt a far purer race than that of Chiengmai, and, it struck me, are handsomer, though of darker complexion. It would indeed be hardly correct to judge of the Lao race by the people of Chiengmai, for the constant intercourse with their neighbours, the Burmese and Shans, has, no doubt, greatly modified the original type. Some peculiarities of pronunciations are common to Nan, Phrë and Lakhon, but there is closer connection between the two former. Though the language is radically the same in Nan and Chiengmai, there is, however, considerable difference between the two provinces in tone and idiom.

Costume.—In dress it appears probable that Müang Nan has preserved the customs once common to all the Laos. With regard to the men, the usual clothing is so scanty that it hardly admits of any modification, but on formal occasions the Headmen wear a red turban and silk jacket. In Chiengmai the latter has been replaced by the white jacket copied by the Siamese from the Europeans. The "sins", or petticoats, of the women, however, are in Nan of a distinctly different and, I think, more tasteful pattern. They also wear thick silver bracelets not very different from those of the Ngios in Chiengsen, and their hair is tied in a knot, not so low back as in Chiengmai.

With regard to the peculiarities of costume and of the manner of dressing the hair, which distinguish the Lao women from the Siamese, and both Lao and Siamese men from the Shans, the following explanation given me may, if correct, draw closer the connection between the Siamese and the more northern branches of the Thai family. It is said that the "sin" of the Laos was formerly also worn by the Siamese women, but that, on the occasion of an invasion of Lower Siam by the Burmese, it was ordered, in order to facilitate their escape, that the Siamese women should wear clothes similar to those of the men; and gradually this dress became established amongst them. It is, indeed, curious that the style of dress of the Siamese women should differ from that of all their neighbours, the Malays, Annamites, Laos, and Burmese. Again, it is said that the Siamese formerly wore their hair long and

tied up in a knot like the Shans, but that at the time of the wars between the Siamese and Burmese, or Peguans, in the sixteenth century, orders were given that the Siamese should cut their hair

close, to distinguish them from their enemies.

City of Nan.—The walled city of Nan itself is smaller than Chiengmai, and bears much resemblance, both in shape and dimensions, to the little city of Lamphun. It contains almost exclusively the residences of the chiefs and a few temples, but the greater part of the inhabitants reside at Wieng Kao, a large suburb about a mile to the north, occupying about half the area inclosed by a rectangular palisade that is now almost entirely decayed. This was the former capital, and was abandoned about thirty years ago, because the location was not found propitious. This superstition, evidently of Chinese origin, is no doubt the reason that capitals of Indo-China are so often removed. Any personal misfortunes or unsuccess induces the ruler to seek what is supposed to be a more favourable site; for the same reason all the official residences in Lakhon have been removed from the north to the south bank. The capital of the province is said to have been formerly further south; but some of the temples near the city appear to be ancient. The account given of the foundation of Wat Changkham, the principal temple in the city, is common also to other temples in the country. When the city was besieged by the Burmese, or by Hos, a compact was made that whichever side should first raise a "phrachedi" or pagoda of a certain height should be considered the victors. The invaders began to build one of brick, which is unfinished to this day; but the Laos, with the aid of an elephant, were soon able to raise a high mound of the required height of baskets of sand, on the top of which they fixed the umbrella, and the enemy, taking it for granted that they were the losers, retreated. The name, "Wat Changkham," denotes that the temple owed its foundation to the assistance of an elephant.

THE SCIENCE OF FOLK-LORE.

T is now many months since I have thought that I could restate, in at once a simpler and more correct form, that Classification of Folk-lore which I ventured to submit to students in the second edition of Greek Folk-songs. It has been ignored by the Folk-lore Society. But I have now to thank Mr. Nutt for his kind reference to it in last month's number of the Archaeological Review; and the courtesy of the Editor allows me to restate my Scheme in the better form suggested by further reflection. In the general psychological principles of my Classification I have some confidence; and I do not, therefore, here propose to trouble the reader with remarks on that subject. But it is because of my conviction that a finally satisfactory application of these principles in a Classification of Folk-lore can be worked out only with the aid of scientific criticism and earnest co-operation, that I have now for long desired an opportunity of restating my amended Scheme. This Scheme, however, implies a certain conception of the character and aim of a Science of Folk-lore, and hence, of its place in a Classification of the Sciences. But on this point some brief prefatory remarks only will here be necessary, as I have the pleasure of finding my views very much in accordance with those expressed by Mr. Nutt, in the paper above referred to. With Mr. Nutt I also agree in thinking that, as he says, "the opposition of Evolutionism and [as he calls it, not very aptly, perhaps] Revelationism is the most important question which lies before every investigator into the origin and development of the psychical and social expressions of man's individuality." And on this question I propose, before concluding, to offer certain suggestions, with no unimportant bearing, as I venture to think, on the reconciliation of these presently opposed theories of "Evolutionism" and (to use Gruppe's term) "Adaptationism".

2. First, then, as to the character and aim of a Science of Folklore, and hence its place in a Classification of the Sciences. Mr. Nutt appears to accept my definitions of Folk and of Folk-lore as in accordance with what he says is, "as a rule, the assumption, both of the archæological and the ethnological folk-lorist, namely,

that the belief and fancy of the relatively uncultured European peasant are substantially of the same essence as those of the absolutely uncultured savage." Admitting this with certain reservations. "by the Folk I mean people unaffected by culture: people relatively unaffected by culture, like the uncultured classes of a civilised state; and people absolutely unaffected by culture, like savages unvisited as yet by missionaries." Folk-lore, therefore. I define as "the lore of the folk about their own folk-life in its various expressions, in customs, in sayings, and in poesies -and the lore, therefore, knowledge of which gives knowledge of folk-life." And accepting, as he apparently does, these definitions of Folk and of Folk-lore, I may perhaps assume that Mr. Nutt accepts also that definition of the Science of Folk-lore which is naturally drawn from these definitions of folk and of folk-lore, the definition of the Science, namely, as "systematised knowledge of the lore of the folk, capable of co-ordination with other systematised knowledges."1

3. And now as to this "co-ordination with other systematised knowledges", or, in other words, as to the place of the Science of Folk-lore in a Classification of the Sciences. Regarding folklore as consisting of materials for the Science of Social Progress, and particularly for the historical Science of Religions, I have characterised it as "a descriptive or classificatory Science—a Science, not of the causes, but merely of the description, and what that implies when it is of a scientific character, the arrangement of phenomena." In this view also I am glad to find myself in accordance with Mr. Nutt. Several times in the course of his article he draws a comparison between the study of Folk-lore and descriptive Geology. I can hardly, however, think it a happy suggestion that the Science of Folk-lore should be treated as "a branch of the Science of Archæology"; though this is certainly an immense advance on the suggestion that it should be treated as "a branch of the science of Anthropology". For surely if Anthropology is to have any definite scientific meaning at all it must be limited to mean the general science of man's Physical Evolution. As distinguished from such a science we must recognise that of man's Mental Development, and that of man's Social Progress. I submit that the science of Folk-lore should be treated as a descriptive branch of this last science, and thus as a branch of what is commonly, but barbarously, called Sociology-Kœnoniology, as I should like to call it-or, more correctly, of its de-

¹ Greek Folk-songs, Supplement, pp. 266-7.

scriptive correlate, Sociography (Kœnoniography). And for the science of Folk-lore, as a department of this general descriptive science, I have ventured to suggest the term Kœnonosography (κοινός γνῶσις).

- 4. But whether we term the general science, to which we refer the science of Folk-lore, Archæology, or Sociology, we are agreed that it is a descriptive, rather than a causal, science—a science, that is, of which the great aim is a scientific classification, rather than explanation, of the phenomena with which it deals. What, then, shall be our guiding principle in classifying Folk-lore-in classifying the knowledge we may gain of the various expressions of Folk-life in Customs, in Sayings, and in Poesies? Folk-customs, -sayings, and -poesies may interest an antiquary of the type of the earlier collectors by reason merely of their curiousness, but their interest for the man of science is certainly of a very different character. be a scientific collector of fossils one must be much more than a fossil-collector: one must be a scientific student of Earth's history—a scientific geologist and biologist. And so, to be a scientific collector of folk-lore, one must be much more than a folk-lore collector, or folk-lorist: one must be a scientific student of Man's history—a scientific psychologist and sociologist. For such a folklorist the knowledge of folk-lore is not an end, but a means-a means to the discovery of the Laws of human Thought, and of the progress of human Thought. But if so, then, is it not clear that our guiding principle in classifying folk-lore—classifying the knowledge we may gain of the various expressions of folk-life—must be some previous classification of the conceptions of folk-life? cause of their form does the biologist value, nor according to their form does he classify, his fossils. Nor because of their form does the sociologist value, nor according to their form does he classify. his folk-lore. A scientific classification, whether of fossils or of folk-lore, must be derived from the study of constitution and of organology—that is to say, from the study of interior content, rather than from the observation of external form. And in order, therefore, scientifically to classify the expressions of folk-life we must endeavour, first, scientifically to classify the conceptions of folklife.
- 5. Now, without entering on a pyschological discussion, and confining myself to the chief purpose of this paper—a restatement in a simpler and more correct form, of my Classification of Folk-lore—I would submit that the Conceptions of Folk-life may be distin-

guished as Cosmical Ideas, Moral Notions, and Historical Memories. As derived from, and corresponding to, the three primary modes of human expression, Action, Speech, and Fiction-the Expressions of Folk-life may be distinguished as Customs, Sayings, and Poesies. Classifying these, not according to their form, but according to their content-that is to say, according as they chiefly illustrate Cosmical Ideas, or Moral Notions, or Historical Memories—Customs may be distinguished as Ceremonies, Usages, and Festivals-Cosmical Ideas being chiefly illustrated in Ceremonies; Moral Notions in Usages; and Historical Memories in Festivals. These terms are, no doubt, at present used far more loosely. But it is the very function of scientific nomenclature to give definite and precise meanings to loosely used terms. Classifying Sayings in the same way, we get three classes; the first, chiefly illustrative of Cosmical Ideas; the second, of Moral Notions; and the third, of Historical Memories. It was difficult to find good English words that might aptly denote these three classes respectively. But I have suggested the terms Spells, Saws, and Reades. And similarly classifying Folkpoesies, according to their dominant psychological content, I have distinguished Lays and Legends, Songs and Stories, Ballads and Sagas, as illustrative, the first, chiefly of Cosmical Ideas; the second, chiefly of Moral Notions; and the third, chiefly of Historical Memories.

6. But each of these sub-classes of Customs, of Sayings, and of Poesies, is so large that it must be again divided. In accordance with the general principle of classification, this can be done only as the result of an analysis of the conceptions, which are the chief psychological content of these sub-classes. Ceremonies, the first sub-class of Customs, Spells, the first sub-class of Sayings, and Lays and Legends, the first sub-class of Poesies, were defined as chiefly illustrative of Cosmical Ideas; and hence if we would further classify these expressions of folk-life, we must further analyse the conceptions which they distinctively illustrate. Now, Cosmical Ideas may be distinguished, first, as ideas of Nature; secondly, as ideas of what I shall term Supernals, that is to say, of beings possessed of powers above those of ordinary beings, whether Animals (totems and "grateful beasts", etc.), Men (giants, dwarfs, etc.), or Spirits (demons and deities, etc.); and thirdly, as ideas of After-life. We shall, therefore, sub-classify Ceremonies, according as they chiefly illustrate ideas of Nature, or of Supernals, or of After-life. And similarly, we shall sub-classify Spells, and likewise Lays and Legends.

7. Usages, the second sub-class of Customs; Saws, the second

sub-clsss of Sayings; and Songs and Stories, the second sub-class of Poesies, were defined as chiefly illustrative of Moral Notions. And hence, in order to classify the great variety of Usages, of Saws, and of Songs and Stories, Moral Notions must be analysed. These are at once naturally distinguishable as notions of right and wrong in Sexual, in Domestic, and in Communal Relations. Hence, in that class of Folk-poesies more particularly distinguished as Songs and Stories, we distinguish Love-songs and -stories, Family-songs and -stories, and Commune-songs and -stories; or, as in Greek Folk-songs, I have named them, Erotic, Domestic, and Humouristic Songs. And similarly we may distinguish Usages and Saws.

8. Finally, with respect to this second degree of the sub-classification of Customs, Sayings, and Poesies. Festivals, the third subclass of Customs; Reades, the third sub-class of Sayings; and Ballads and Sagas, the third sub-class of Poesies, were defined as chiefly illustrative of Historical Memories. Hence, to sub-classify Festivals, Reades, and Ballads and Sagas, we must classify Historical Memories. Folk-memories may, I submit, be exhaustively classified as memories of Seasons, memories of Heroes, and memories of Rights. We shall, therefore, sub-classify Festivals according as they chiefly illustrate memories of Seasons, or of Heroes, or of Rights-Beating the Bounds, and the Marriage of the Adriatic, being familiar examples of the latter. And, similarly, we may sub-classify Reades as Sayings chiefly illustrative of Historical Memories; and Ballads and Sagas. as Poesies thus definable. Ballads and Sagas commemorative of Heroes are certainly the largest sub-class of ballads and sagas. Such, for instance, are all the historical ballads of my collection of Greek Folk-songs; and commemorative of Heroes rather than of Seasons or of Rights, are probably also the majority of Reades and of Festivals.

9. As the scientific fossil-collector has for his finds the pigeon-holes of the biologist, so, I submit, should the scientific folk-lore-collector have the pigeon-holes of the psychologist. And perhaps it will give clearness to the statements of the three foregoing paragraphs if I exhibit them in a tabular form, which may be taken to represent three rows of pigeon-holes—distinguishable as the Cosmical Idea Row, the Moral Notion Row, and the Historical Memory Row. We shall find that, for the classification of Customs, Sayings, and Poesies, we are thus provided with twenty-seven psychological compartments, not only clearly definable, but systematically related.

CONCEPTIONS OF FOLK-LIFE. EXPRESSIONS OF FOLK-LIFE.			
A. Cosmical Ideas.	1. Customs.	II. Sayings.	III. Poesies.
	(1)	(1)	(1)
(a) Ideas of Nature	C	\ I - C - 11 -	$\begin{cases} I - \text{Lays} \\ 2 - \text{ and} \\ 3 - \text{Legends} \end{cases} \begin{cases} I - \\ 2 - \\ 3 - \end{cases}$
(b) , Supernals (c) , After-life	Ceremonies	Spells	2— and 2—
B. Moral Notions.	(11)	(11)	(11)
(a) Sexual (b) Domestic	Usages	Saws	$\begin{cases} I - Songs \\ 2 - and \\ 3 - Stories \end{cases} \begin{cases} I - \\ 2 - \\ 3 - \end{cases}$
(c) Communal	O sages	3- Saws	$\frac{1}{3}$ — Stories $\frac{1}{3}$ —
c. Historical Memories.	(111)	(111)	(III)
(a) Memories of Seasons)		[1-	$\begin{cases} I - \text{ Ballads} \\ 2 - \text{ and} \\ 3 - \text{ Sagas} \end{cases} \begin{cases} I - \\ 2 - \\ 3 - \end{cases}$
(b) " Heroes	Festivals	$\begin{cases} 1-\\ 2-\\ 3- \end{cases}$ Reades	$\left\{2-\text{ and }\right\}$
(c) , Rights		(3—	(3— Sagas (3—

10. In using this Classification the question will be, What does a Custom, or a Saying, or a Poesy chiefly illustrate—a Cosmical Idea, or a Moral Notion, or an Historical Memory? According to the answer will be the row of pigeon-holes into which it goes. And according to the further question, What sort of Cosmical Idea, or Moral Notion, or Historical Memory does the Custom, Saying, or Poesy chiefly illustrate?—will be the particular pigeon-hole into which it goes. No doubt in this, as in even the most perfect Natural Classification, questions will often arise as to where a fact had best be placed in order most truly to indicate its character and relations. But just consider what would be the result of assigning their true psychological and sociological place to even the majority of folk-lore facts. Take, for instance, those which are, perhaps, the most important of all, because of their instructiveness with respect to contemporary social questionsthose folk-lore facts chiefly illustrative of Moral Notions. Suppose the Usages, the Saws, the Songs and Stories, illustrative of these notions, all arranged for comparative study, in the various sub-classes of sexual, domestic, and communal Moral Notions, would not the history of Morals have probably to be entirely rewritten? Such are the aims which a scientific study of Folk-lore must have in view, and which are, indeed, implied in the conception of it as a Descriptive Science. But a Descriptive Science is a Classificatory Science, and to exist as such a science, Folk-lore must have as its backbone, not an empirical, but a scientific Classification of folk-lore facts. And I trust, therefore, that my high conception of the possible future of Folk-lore, and earnest desire to contribute in some degree to the realisation of that possible future, may excuse an expression of profound regret-joined as it is with the heartiest recognition of all the good work done by the Director—that the Folk-lore Society has sanctioned his avowedly empirical, and hence unscientific, Classification of the phenomena with which, at the same time, it claims to deal scientifically. It must, however, be added that it is just such systematic and comparative tabulation and analysis, as appears from Mr. Nutt's article to have been initiated by the Society, that is the first and most indispensable step in the process of verifying, and hence doubtless both amending and developing, such a suggested Scientific Classification as that now submitted to Folk-lorists.

11. I would now, in conclusion, offer some remarks on the opposed theories of Evolutionism and Adaptationism, as Professor Gruppe, or Revelationism, as Mr. Nutt, less happily, as I think, calls the Borrowing theory. The science of Folk-lore, as a descriptive and classificatory science, has indeed, in strictness, nothing to do with these or any other theories of causes—having but to provide classified facts for the working out of such theories. But still, as none are likely to consider Mr. Nutt's remarks on these theories, in his article on Recent Folk-lore Research, irrelevant, I trust that the remarks on the subject, which I would now offer, may also, perhaps, not be considered an irrelevant conclusion to a paper on The Science of Folk-lore. For if that descriptive science has nothing to do with these theories, the historical science of Religions, to which the science of Folk-lore—as the science of the expressions of folk-life-is immediately ancillary, has very much to do with these theories. Having obtained from Folk-lore its classified facts, the question immediately arises, How are we to regard these facts in relation especially to the great classic mytho-The so-called "Evolutionist" answers that the classic mythologies are but a development of the cosmical ideas, common to all savages, and expressed in folk-ceremonies, folk-spells, and folkpoesies. The "Adaptationist", on the other hand, maintains that the classic and all the other great mythologies have, with more or less intermixture, been derived from one or more definite centres of origin, and hence that similarities in religious beliefs and expressions of belief are to be explained by a theory, not of aboriginal mental constitution, but of foreign religious borrowing. I must here confine my criticism of these theories to pointing out a fact which both of them have ignored. And the result may, perhaps, be a reconciliation of these two theories, or, at least, a more discriminating recognition of what is true in each.

12. The fact to which I allude is that not only do we find in

the oldest caves with human remains, skulls, indicating great, if not indeed extreme, cerebral differences between human Races. from the earliest age of man's existence; but that, still more clearly and definitely do we find, in the historic origin of Civilisation in the Nile- and Euphrates-valleys, somewhere between seven thousand and ten thousand years ago, at least two Races, differing from each other in physical and mental characteristics to the very same degree, and in the very same way, as the White Race of Civilisation now differs from the Coloured and Black Races of Barbarism. I have elsewhere collected the immense amount of evidence now available for proving that the founders of the Egyptian and Chaldean Civilisations were, though neither Semites nor Aryans, yet a White Race,1 with as high cerebral and other characteristics as the purest-bred Aryan of the present day, yet separated from their subjects by at least as great an interval as, or indeed, because of less intermixture of blood then, by a greater interval than now anywhere separates White Rulers from Coloured and Black Subjects. We may imagine, if we like, that men were once all of one Race, with identical tendencies and equal capacities. But we know nothing of man save as belonging to most contrastedly different Races. Yet the theory of the so-called Evolutionists seems to postulate, not difference but identity in the Races of Men. I venture, therefore, to refer to their theory as but a so-called "Evolutionism", seeing that it lacks the distinguishing characteristic of Darwinian Evolutionism, namely, a due recognition of difference of conditions as the sine qua non of social, as of organic, changes. The influence of a Higher Race is, in the development of Sociological Species, what the influence of new Geological Conditions is in the development of Biological Species. And I submit that only a theory in which a Conflict of higher and lower Races and Classes figures as the chief condition of intellectual, moral, and social changes can properly be called a scientific theory of sociological Evolution.

13. With such views, already published,1 it was with very great interest that I read, in 1888, Professor Gruppe's Culte und

¹ In Greek Folk-songs (1st Edit. 1885, 2nd Edit. 1888), and in papers read in 1887, at the April meeting of the Royal Historical Society, and at the September meeting of the British Association, and which, considerably elaborated, are now in the press for the Transactions of the R. Hist. Soc., under the title of The Archaian White Races and their Traditions. These races I have thus defined: "By Archaian White Races I mean White Races non-Semitic and non-Aryan; and by White Races I mean Races with either long or short heads (dolichocephalic, or brachycephalic), high noses, unprojecting jaws (orthognathic, not prognathic), long hair and beards, and light-coloured skins."

Mythen, to which my attention had been directed by the more provoking than satisfying account of it in the Classical Review. It need hardly be said that I hailed his work as giving immense confirmation to the views which I had already published as above noted. But while the Grundgedanke of Professor Gruppe's book is precisely that of my Northern Hellas (of which the first part was printed in 1886-7, though it is not yet published), namely, "Dass die Verwandtschaft der griechischen Culte und Mythen mit den orientalischen nicht auf gelegentlicher Uebertragung, sondern auf einer ununterbrochenen und allgemeinen Culturgemeinschaft beruht"-yet he does not prove his case by those ethnological facts by which alone it can, as I think, be scientifically proved, and by those facts more particularly which connect the Pelasgians with the Archaian Races, the founders of the Egyptian and Chaldean Civilisations. It was the impression made on me by finding how great is the number of Lárissas which connect the Lárissa of Thessaly, where I studied the Pelasgian problem in 1880, with the Lárissa of Chaldea, that directed me to this course of ethnological and archæological research; and the further I have gone the more convinced have I become that I am on the right track for a solution of the problems which lie at the root, not only of Hellenic, but of European Civilisation. But even since the most recent of the works of De Quatrefages on what he calls the Allophyllian, and I the Archaian, White Races, a great number of memoirs have added to the evidence that already proved the existence all over the world of non-Semitic and non-Aryan White Races, presumably of the same stock as that of the founders of the Egyptian and Chaldean Civilisations. It is by the facts of the ethnological distribution of these White Races that the similarities of religious beliefs, rituals, and symbols are, on my Archaian theory, chiefly to be explained. And, as I may, perhaps, on some future occasion, be allowed an opportunity of indicating in the Archæological Review, it is by the facts of the settlement of higher White among lower Coloured and Black Races that probably Exogomy, and more certainly the extraordinary supremacy accorded to Women² in what may, perhaps, be distinguished as the Amazonian Civilisations, are also, on this theory, chiefly to be explained.

¹ Les Polynésiens et leurs Migrations, 1866; Rapport sur les Progrès de l'Anthropologie en France, 1866; and Hommes fossiles et Hommes sauvages 1884.

² See, for instance, Giraud-Teulon, Origines du Mariage, et de la Famille ch. xv, La gynécocratie.

J. S. STUART GLENNIE.

HENNESSY'S TODD LECTURES.

Vol. I, Part I. Mesca Ulad; or, The Intoxication of the Ultonians. With Translation and Introductory Notes by W. M. Hennessy. 8vo, xvi, 58 pp. Dublin, 1889.

MELANCHOLY interest attaches to this posthumous publication of the thorough and accomplished scholar whose name appears on the title-page. As is the case with too many other native scholars, the amount of printed work which Hennessy has left behind him represents most inadequately his knowledge of the history and literature of early Ireland. He was one of the few remaining depositaries of the traditions handed down through O'Donovan and O'Curry, those last of an almost unbroken line of great antiquaries reaching up to the early Middle Ages. Modern philological and historical criticism has done and can do much for the elucidation of the oldest records of the Irish races, but it cannot dispense with the native tradition. Every gift from the hand of a pupil of O'Curry's is therefore most welcome, and it is with lively satisfaction that I note the promise of the Royal Irish Academy to revise and publish Hennessy's remaining Todd Lectures, with as little delay as possible. If, however, this feeling of satisfaction is to be justified, the future lectures must be "revised and published" in a very different way from the present one. I do not hesitate to say that this publication reflects the utmost discredit upon the Royal Irish Academy, and is most unfair to Hennessy's memory. The lectures were delivered in 1882; the preface is signed 1884. The long delay in publishing may reasonably be attributed to the lecturer's feeling that the text translated by him demanded far more comment, both critical and exegetical, than is here given it. The present introduction is quite insufficient, restricted as it is to three or four points of comparatively minor importance; and those historical and topographical notes which the editor was so well qualified to supply are almost entirely missing. At the very least, the historical conditions of the tale, and its relations to other texts of the same saga-cycle, should have been clearly set forth.

The text is found in two fragments of very unequal length, contained in the two oldest Irish vellums, the Leabhar na h-Uidre

(LU), and the *Book of Leinster* (LL). The latter supplies pages 1-46, the former pages 47-55. The editor is, however, incorrect in saying that there is a hiatus between the conclusion of the LL fragment and the commencement of the LU fragment. The relation between the two is much more interesting than this statement would imply; to rightly appreciate it a summary of the tale must be given.

The Tuatha de Danaan excite a quarrel amongst the province of Uladh regarding its division into three parts, in the days of Conor, son of Fachtna Fathach, one-third belonging to Conor, onethird to his dalta Cuchulaind, son of Sualtam, one-third to Fintan, son of Niall Niamglonnach. This division lasts a year, until the feast of Samhain (All-hallows), when Conor gives a great feast, to which Cuchulaind and Fintan are bidden. Sencha, Conor's chief ollamh, and Cathbad the druid, persuade Cuchulaind and Fintan to give up their thirds for one year to Conor, in return for which the two heroes exact that the king come "to drinking and delight" with them. A quarrel arises as to who shall have the precedence in feast-giving; Sencha settles it by assigning the first half of the night to Fintan, the second half to Cuchulaind. All Ulster meets at Fintan's, "each noble with his lady; each king with his queen; each musician with his accompaniments; each hunter with his huntress." When midnight arrives, Cuchulaind calls those present to follow him, but, instead of leading them to his home, he directs his course straight through the centre of Ireland, until they arrive in the territory of Curui mac Daire, the Munster chief. Cuchulaind alone knows the district, but when he offers to guide the host back out of the hostile land, the Ulster braves reject the offer with scorn —they claim to be a day and a night where they are, 'twere a sign of defeat for them to depart at once. The host then proceeds to Tara-Luachra, the stronghold of Curui mac Daire. Munster hero is feasting Ailill and Medb, King and Queen of Connaught, who have given him their youngest son in fosterage. Medb alone, the "provident heroine", stations on the walls as watchmen two druids, who dispute as to the nature of the Ulster host, all question as to which is, however, settled by the full fierce rush of its advance,-" there was not left a spear on a rack, nor a shield on a spike, nor a sword in an armoury that did not fall down." The inmates of the castle are moved by this clamour, the two watchmen are called in and give a detailed description of the Ulster host, Curui naming each hero as he is described. Counsel is taken of a druid as to what should be done in respect of these formidable

visitors, and this is the counsel: that an iron house be prepared, and surrounded with all manner of inflammable materials, and seven chains of good iron firmly fastened to the seven pillar-stones on the green outside. The Ulstermen are then bidden welcome from Medb, and from Ailill, and from Curui, and Cuchulaind goes to pick out a house for his comrades, and he picks out the largest one, which is the iron house. And when all are inside, and it is night, the chains are made fast, and thrice fifty smiths are brought with their bellows to blow the fire, which is kindled from above and from below. The Ulstermen feel the heat, and Cuchulaind, plunging his sword through the walls, discovers them to be made of iron. . . .

The LL fragment ends here; the LU one opens with the dispute of the Ulster heroes who should select the house offered them for their entertainment by the Munster chief. Cuchulaind is chosen, in spite of a gibe by Fintan at his fairy birth. He chooses a house which is not described as being of iron, nor is anything said of preparations made to roast them alive in it; but ale and food are sent them till they are intoxicated, and they are locked in-Cuchulaind leaps upwards, carrying off the roof as he does so, and then kicks down the door from the outside. The Munster warriors gather around the invaders and attack them, Ailill and his seven sons remaining neutral. The Ulstermen are victorious, and plunder the din, and leave alive only three of the enemy. One of these, to be revenged, persuades a female satirist, Richis, to come with him and attack Cuchulaind. He is to be overcome by the following device. Richis takes off her clothes, whereat the Ulster hero veils his face that he may not see her nakedness, and the Munsterman attacks him in the meanwhile. But Cuchulaind's charioteer slays Richis with the cast of a stone, and thus frees his master, who is of course victorious. The host then comes to Cuchulaind's dún, where it is entertained for forty days and nights. And Conor was after without destruction of his kingship whilst he lived.

It is evident that in this, as in so many other cases, the two great Irish vellums have preserved varying redactions of the same saga. Unfortunately, the portion common to both is very small, and does not allow any certain conclusion as to the relative age of the two versions. So far as one can judge, the LU version, if complete, would be the longer and more detailed of the two, and it would probably be found, if we had the close of the other version, that it is less favourable to the Ulstermen, who doubtless escape from their prison, but I think with difficulty, and without that com-

plete slaughter of their enemy described in LU. So much light has been thrown by Professor Zimmer upon the nature and growth of the Irish sagas by the comparison between the varying redactions preserved in the oldest MSS.,¹ that it is greatly to be regretted our two versions do not overlap more than is the case. Any later copies of the tale, should such exist, should be carefully examined to see if they allow us to recover the LU redaction in its entirety.

In the meantime, a close examination of the texts, even in their present fragmentary state, leads to the following results. In the first place, the points of agreement will be noted; then those points in which the two versions certainly differ from each other; and lastly, those in which there is probably difference without its being possible to affirm decidedly that this is the case.

Points of Agreement.—The general outline and march of the story are the same in both versions, as may be gathered from the final words of LU: "Conor was after without destruction of his kingship whilst he lived," and from Fintan's jeer at the supernatural descent of Cuchulaind; the first passage presupposing the opening threefold division of Ulster, and the consequent bringing of the province under the sole sway of Conor, whilst the second bears witness to that rivalry between Cuchulaind and Fintan which is so prominent in LL.

Certain Points of Difference.—These are many and important. I have already noted that LU shows no trace of the roasting alive incident; again, whilst Trisgatal is the name in LL of the champion

¹ Keltische Studien, No. 5. Ueber den compilatorischen charakter der irischen sagentexte im soggennanten Lebor na hUidre (Z. f. vgl. Sprachforschung. Vol. xxviii, Parts 5 and 6, 1887). Quoted throughout this notice as Zimmer.

² A similar incident is found in a 13th century Irish MS. (Rawlinson, B. 502, f. 72): Labraid, King of Leinster, to avenge himself upon Cobthach, builds a house of twice melted iron, and invites therein Cobthach and thirty other kings. These refuse to enter it unless Labraid's mother or Labraid's fool precede them. The mother, though foreknowing her fate, goes into it "for her son's honour", the fool, for the "blessing of the Leinstermen, and for freedom to his children for ever." Once inside-"fire for you", says Labraid, "and ale Nine men chain the door, and thrice fifty smiths' bellows are and food." blown round the house. Those within call on Labraid to save his mother, but she bids him heat on and exact atonement for her. The same expedient is adopted by Matholwch in the Mabinogi of Branwen, daughter of Llyr, to rid the land of the mysterious and monstrous lake-folk who harass it (cf. Folk-lore Record, vol. v, p. 5). The relations of Wales, as described in the Mabinogi, are with Leinster, and it is thus less remarkable that this incident should be found in that collection of the race-sagas made in Leinster, and betraying not unfrequently a spirit adverse to the pre-eminence of the Ulster braves and wizards.

of Conor's house—"he kills three enneads by his fierce looks"—LU calls him *Triscoth*. When the Munstermen attack the house, he looks so fiercely at the first two that they faint; as for the third, who withstands his glance, "he took him by the leg, and kept dashing him against the three enneads that were in the house, so that not one of them escaped alive." Conor's fool is called Roimed by LL, Reorda by LU; Dubthach, although described by LL as the chafer (*dael*) of Ulster, is yet spoken of by his proper name, but LU thrice alludes to him simply as Daeltenga (chafertongue), once as Dubthach Daeltenga and only once as Dubthach.²

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I have summarised (ante, vol. ii, p. 117) Professor Zimmer's researches respecting the relation of the two oldest Irish MSS. It may suffice here to say that he shows strong reason for attributing the LU version (copied at the beginning of the 12th century) to Flann Manistrech († 1056), the greatest Irish scholar of the 11th century, and for regarding it as an abridged harmony from earlier MSS. now lost, but from one of which LL was copied in the middle of the 12th century. The diplomatic tradition is thus carried back to the beginning of the 11th century; and when it is borne in mind that not only the 12th century scribes of both MSS., but Flann himself, the profoundest antiquary of his day, frequently misunderstood the texts, it seems no rash conclusion to attribute these sagas substantially to the 7th-8th centuries. Professor Zimmer has also shown that not only the date of the redaction as we now have it,

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but also the date of composition, may frequently be reached by an examination of the allusions in the text (cf. ante, vol. ii, p. 138). Statements such as that the three sons of Uisnech are "the three torches of valour of Europe"—the description of Lugaid as son of Leit, King of Dál-araide—Dubthach's prediction to the imprisoned Ulster braves "that the men of Eri and Alba shall possesses their land"—of which the first two come from LL, the last from LU—show that both our texts received their final shape in at least the second of the three periods of Irish saga-telling distinguished by Professor Zimmer, that one, namely, which reaches from the middle of the fourth to the end of the seventh century, and during which the Irish swarmed out of Ireland, plundering and settling on the coasts of England, Wales, and Scotland.

Bearing in mind the approximate date of composition of both forms of our saga, it is interesting to note how different are the historic conditions from those we find in other stories of the Ulster saga-cycle. The threefold division of Ulster, although not actually contradicted by other texts, is yet in grave disaccord with them so far as Cuchulaind is concerned. The latter is universally described as Conchobor's nephew, his mother being Dechtire, sister to the Ulster chief, and his father either the Ulster chieftain Sualtam or the god Lug. He is brought up by Conchobor (Conor); and a passage in the Tain bo' Cuailgne (Zimmer, l. c., p. 449) describes how after his first hero's feat, on his return to Emain Macha, he resumes his wonted place between his uncle's knees. The relations between the two are of quite a different nature from those of quasiequality described in our text. The silence of the Annals of the Four Masters and of Keating concerning the state of affairs in Ulster described in our text, is less remarkable, as both follow in their record the line of the high kings of Ireland, and pay, the former scarcely any, the latter comparatively little, attention to that Ulster court the fortunes of which are the subject of the most considerable heroic saga of any modern European race. Yet this silence of the annalists must be taken in conjunction with the different state of affairs presupposed by the other saga-texts when estimating how far our tale may have a solid historic basis. I have indicated (ante, vol. ii, p. 116) my disbelief in there being any perceptible amount of historic truth in the Ulster saga, and I would simply point out here the difficulties in which those who take these hero-tales as a record of fact are involved. Cuchulaind is Conor's nephew, and most of the Ulster heroes figure in the story of his birth, amongst others, Bricriu and Conal Cearnach, both of whom are personages

in our tale—at the time of the Tain bo Cuailgne he is seventeen years old, but the Tain was undertaken by the Connaughtmen in conjunction with Fergus and the Ulster exiles after the treacherous slaying of the sons of Usnech; these latter figure in our story, which must therefore precede by at least three years the Tain, and yet Cuchulaind is represented in it as a ruler on almost equal terms with Conor. In fact, the chronology of the whole cycle cannot bear a close scrutiny. An historic fact, however, such as that of the threefold division of Ulster, which is mentioned in one text only, and ignored by others, is for that very reason likely to have some basis of truth; and, in so far as the mythic hero-tales of the Celtic race have been shaped and coloured by historic events which took place in the North of Ireland about the beginning of the Christian era, I am inclined to think that the present text gives as faithful an idea of these events as can be gathered from any portion of the saga-cycle.

Two other points deserve notice in this connection. Conor, instead of being called, as is usual, by his mother's name (Conchobor Mac Nessa), is styled Mac Fachtna Fathach. This is also the case in other stories of the cycle, e.g., in the fate of the sons of Uisnech, and in the Tochmarc Emer (ante, vol. i, p. 68). But the matronymic style is more frequent, and is rightly cited by M. Muret in Mélusine for April as a probable survival of matriarchal custom amongst the ancient Irish. The other point has been noted by Mr. Hennessy. Cuchulaind is described in the LL fragment (p. 29) as a "little black-browed man". This description is all the more striking as the LU fragment states that in the final mêlée no one would wound the hero "because of his beauty", a fact which recalls to us the Sandde Bryd-angel of Kilhwch and Olwen-"no one wounded him in the battle of Camlan, all deemed him to be an auxiliary angel." Allusion is also made to his fair shining hair, "tho' 'twere a head of gold he had", says an adversary. The LL description is not, however, so singular as one might gather from Mr. Hennessy's remarks. Thus, the Tochmarc Emer (ante, vol. i, p. 72) describes Cuchulaind as a "dark sad man", and contrasts him with his charioteer, "a very slender, long-sided, much freckled man, with very curly bright red hair". Professor Meyer notes on this passage that other LL texts speak of Cuchulaind as fair. What is important to remember is, that just as we have two varying accounts of the personal appearance of the Ulster hero, of which the usual one makes him the supreme representative of manly beauty as the Celtic invaders of these isles imagined it, and gives him all

the characteristics of the pan-Aryan sun-god or sun-hero, whilst the other figures him in a directly opposed way, so we have two accounts of his achievements. In the more common one he is, as Tighernach says, "fortissimus heroum Scotorum", as much the preeminent warrior of his race as Achilles among the Greeks or Siegfried among the Germans. But a certain number of stories have come down to us in which he is represented as worsted by his adversaries, notably by the Munster brave, Curoi mac Daire. The marked opposition between the North of Ireland and the remaining provinces, which is such an important element in the national sagas, represents, I believe, the clash of hostile mythologies as well as of hostile races; the Southern Irish versions of these sagas thus retain traces of the time when the great hero of one branch of the race, the hero whose career reproduces the older sun-god myth, was by another branch of the race looked upon as a representative of the dark and evil powers of nature.

One of the most interesting features of any early Irish saga is the witness borne to the homogeneity of Celtic romantico-mythic tradition, from a period well-nigh prehistoric down to our own time. Campbell's Tales are the best commentary upon the Ulster sagas, as they are upon the Mabinogion. Instances have been noted in the course of this article, but the kinship of tone, and frequently of minor incident, which exists between our text and the Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen, deserves more than a passing word. Schulz, Renan, Villemarqué, and many others have noted the weird archaic effect of that remarkable tale. Its characteristics are, however, simply those of Irish story-telling generally, though it must be admitted that no Irish tale that has come down to us has anything like the same artistic merit. The catalogue of the Ulster warriors in our text is built up upon the triadic lines of Kilhwch's enumeration of Arthur's court, lines which are partly followed in the list of the Ultonian court, quoted at the end of the Tochmarc Emer (ante, vol. i, p. 306). Passages such as "they would not remove the dew from the grass for the celerity and lightness with which they came" (p. 30); or the one detailing the arms of the Ulster heroes: "three knightly red-brown shields, three immense, whizzing, warlike spears, three heavy, stout-striking swords"; or again, the description of Uanchend Arritech: "his eleventh year is not complete, and he never ate his portion without offering it to everyone who might be in the house", will be recognised as familiar by all acquainted with Kilhwch and Olwen. The remains of early Welsh literature are probably too scanty to allow us to decide

whether this marked similarity of style and colouring is due to kinship of æsthetic feeling and original community of æsthetic methods between Gael and Kymry, or whether it is not rather due to the direct influence of the great Irish saga-school of the eighthtenth centuries upon the Welsh writers.

Uanchend Arritech is an interesting personage. He is the son of the three leaders of battle of the Ulstermen—Uma, son of Remanfisech, Errgi Horsemouth, and Big Celtchair. He thus recalls Lugaid, who was the son of Clothru, and of Bres, Nàr, and Lothur (War, Shame, and Hell, as Prof. Rhys Englishes them, Hibb. Lect., p. 478). Have we here a trace of primitive polyandry, or is this a mythological commonplace handed on unthinkingly

from one storyteller to another?

I have only been able to deal, and that slightly, with a very few of the many interesting features presented by this tale. An exhaustive and adequate commentary would swell the pamphlet to treble its present size. Meanwhile, we must be thankful for the translation. Celtic scholars are far too apt to waste their energies upon grammatical and metrical refinements, or upon the Christian literature of the mediæval Irish, the interest of which is altogether secondary. It is the heroic sagas and the archaic customals of the Irish which make their early literature the most valuable and instructive of any modern European race; accurate and entire renderings of these it is that are asked for from Celtic scholars by every student of the past, whether of manners or arts, of beliefs or customs, for no other class of documents supplies more genuine information respecting the early social condition of the race.

ALFRED NUTT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

[Supra, p. 1.]

SIR,—I regret that Mr. Jacobs in his article on Biblical Archæology has scarcely done justice to the Palestine Exploration Fund in a few passages. He does not seem well acquainted with their more serious efforts, such as the *Memoirs of the Survey*, etc. It is true we have only a few Hebrew inscriptions, though I think the Moabite stone might have been mentioned, and the tomb texts which I have described in *Syrian Stone Lore*, as well as all the Phoenician texts and certain seals not mentioned by Mr. Jacobs, which, together with uninscribed monuments, make up a respectable total. He says nothing of the "Hittite monuments" of Syria, concerning which, on the 26th, I read a further paper to the Anthropological Institute.

Again, he is rather hard as to geographical discoveries. The 1,500 names include Bible names in Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, Chaldea, Persia, Egypt, but the P. E. F. work is confined to Palestine. In Western Palestine there are only about 800 names at most, and 400 of these were known before the survey. I think 140 in addition was by no means a meagre result, especially as the boundaries of tribes and provinces have also been defined. The new departure of the P. E. F. will, I hope, lead to some results of much interest; but I think, in such a review, notice might have been taken of the curious rude stone monuments discovered by the explorers in such numbers and described in their publications. Also of the folk-lore and superstitions recorded in the *Memoirs*, and the accounts of the peasant life and customs. As regards eating the hare, for instance (p. 16), it has been noted that it is not eaten by either Jews, Christians, or Arabs in Palestine; and many survivals of the old paganism of Palestine have been recorded by this Society.

As there is, I think, no institution that has done as much as the P. E. Fund for Palestine Archæology, I do not see why its labours should be minimised. The very idea of studying the Old Testament independently, by monumental evidence, as a check on critical exegesis, has been the outcome of Palestine exploration, and has hardly been accepted even now as the method which is to be most important in the future.

C. R. CONDER.

A JEW FINANCES THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

SIR,—In my article on "Jews in the Pipe Rolls of the Twelfth Century" (Arch. Rev., Feb. 1889, vol. ii, p. 399), there is an item, the full significance of which escaped me at the time of going to press. It is No. 16, and runs as follows:

"Josce, Jew of Gloucester, owes 100 shillings for an amerciament for the moneys which he lent to those who against the king's prohibition went over to Ireland. 16 Hen. II (1169-70)."

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Bearing in mind the approximate date of composition of both forms of our saga, it is interesting to note how different are the historic conditions from those we find in other stories of the Ulster saga-cycle. The threefold division of Ulster, although not actually contradicted by other texts, is yet in grave disaccord with them so far as Cuchulaind is concerned. The latter is universally described as Conchobor's nephew, his mother being Dechtire, sister to the Ulster chief, and his father either the Ulster chieftain Sualtam or the god Lug. He is brought up by Conchobor (Conor); and a passage in the Tain bo' Cuailgne (Zimmer, l. c., p. 449) describes how after his first hero's feat, on his return to Emain Macha, he resumes his wonted place between his uncle's knees. The relations between the two are of quite a different nature from those of quasiequality described in our text. The silence of the Annals of the Four Masters and of Keating concerning the state of affairs in Ulster described in our text, is less remarkable, as both follow in their record the line of the high kings of Ireland, and pay, the former scarcely any, the latter comparatively little, attention to that Ulster court the fortunes of which are the subject of the most considerable heroic saga of any modern European race. Yet this silence of the annalists must be taken in conjunction with the different state of affairs presupposed by the other saga-texts when estimating how far our tale may have a solid historic basis. I have indicated (ante, vol. ii, p. 116) my disbelief in there being any perceptible amount of historic truth in the Ulster saga, and I would simply point out here the difficulties in which those who take these hero-tales as a record of fact are involved. Cuchulaind is Conor's nephew, and most of the Ulster heroes figure in the story of his birth, amongst others, Bricriu and Conal Cearnach, both of whom are personages

in our tale—at the time of the Tain bo Cuailgne he is seventeen years old, but the Tain was undertaken by the Connaughtmen in conjunction with Fergus and the Ulster exiles after the treacherous slaying of the sons of Usnech; these latter figure in our story, which must therefore precede by at least three years the Tain, and yet Cuchulaind is represented in it as a ruler on almost equal terms with Conor. In fact, the chronology of the whole cycle cannot bear a close scrutiny. An historic fact, however, such as that of the threefold division of Ulster, which is mentioned in one text only, and ignored by others, is for that very reason likely to have some basis of truth; and, in so far as the mythic hero-tales of the Celtic race have been shaped and coloured by historic events which took place in the North of Ireland about the beginning of the Christian era, I am inclined to think that the present text gives as faithful an idea of these events as can be gathered from any portion of the saga-cycle.

Two other points deserve notice in this connection. Conor, instead of being called, as is usual, by his mother's name (Conchobor Mac Nessa), is styled Mac Fachtna Fathach. This is also the case in other stories of the cycle, e.g., in the fate of the sons of Uisnech, and in the Tochmarc Emer (ante, vol. i, p. 68). But the matronymic style is more frequent, and is rightly cited by M. Muret in Mélusine for April as a probable survival of matriarchal custom amongst the ancient Irish. The other point has been noted by Mr. Hennessy. Cuchulaind is described in the LL fragment (p. 29) as a "little black-browed man". This description is all the more striking as the LU fragment states that in the final melée no one would wound the hero "because of his beauty", a fact which recalls to us the Sandde Bryd-angel of Kilhwch and Olwen-"no one wounded him in the battle of Camlan, all deemed him to be an auxiliary angel." Allusion is also made to his fair shining hair, "tho' 'twere a head of gold he had", says an adversary. The LL description is not, however, so singular as one might gather from Mr. Hennessy's remarks. Thus, the Tochmarc Emer (ante, vol. i, p. 72) describes Cuchulaind as a "dark sad man", and contrasts him with his charioteer, "a very slender, long-sided, much freckled man, with very curly bright red hair". Professor Meyer notes on this passage that other LL texts speak of Cuchulaind as fair. What is important to remember is, that just as we have two varying accounts of the personal appearance of the Ulster hero, of which the usual one makes him the supreme representative of manly beauty as the Celtic invaders of these isles imagined it, and gives him all

the characteristics of the pan-Aryan sun-god or sun-hero, whilst the other figures him in a directly opposed way, so we have two accounts of his achievements. In the more common one he is, as Tighernach says, "fortissimus heroum Scotorum", as much the preeminent warrior of his race as Achilles among the Greeks or Siegfried among the Germans. But a certain number of stories have come down to us in which he is represented as worsted by his adversaries, notably by the Munster brave, Curoi mac Daire. The marked opposition between the North of Ireland and the remaining provinces, which is such an important element in the national sagas, represents, I believe, the clash of hostile mythologies as well as of hostile races; the Southern Irish versions of these sagas thus retain traces of the time when the great hero of one branch of the race, the hero whose career reproduces the older sun-god myth, was by another branch of the race looked upon as a representative of the dark and evil powers of nature.

One of the most interesting features of any early Irish saga is the witness borne to the homogeneity of Celtic romantico-mythic tradition, from a period well-nigh prehistoric down to our own time. Campbell's Tales are the best commentary upon the Ulster sagas, as they are upon the Mabinogion. Instances have been noted in the course of this article, but the kinship of tone, and frequently of minor incident, which exists between our text and the Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen, deserves more than a passing word. Schulz, Renan, Villemarqué, and many others have noted the weird archaic effect of that remarkable tale. Its characteristics are, however, simply those of Irish story-telling generally, though it must be admitted that no Irish tale that has come down to us has anything like the same artistic merit. The catalogue of the Ulster warriors in our text is built up upon the triadic lines of Kilhwch's enumeration of Arthur's court, lines which are partly followed in the list of the Ultonian court, quoted at the end of the Tochmarc Emer (ante, vol. i, p. 306). Passages such as "they would not remove the dew from the grass for the celerity and lightness with which they came" (p. 30); or the one detailing the arms of the Ulster heroes: "three knightly red-brown shields, three immense, whizzing, warlike spears, three heavy, stout-striking swords"; or again, the description of Uanchend Arritech: "his eleventh year is not complete, and he never ate his portion without offering it to everyone who might be in the house", will be recognised as familiar by all acquainted with Kilhwch and Olwen. The remains of early Welsh literature are probably too scanty to allow us to decide

whether this marked similarity of style and colouring is due to kinship of æsthetic feeling and original community of æsthetic methods between Gael and Kymry, or whether it is not rather due to the direct influence of the great Irish saga-school of the eighthtenth centuries upon the Welsh writers.

Uanchend Arritech is an interesting personage. He is the son of the three leaders of battle of the Ulstermen—Uma, son of Remanfisech, Errgi Horsemouth, and Big Celtchair. He thus recalls Lugaid, who was the son of Clothru, and of Bres, Nar, and Lothur (War, Shame, and Hell, as Prof. Rhys Englishes them, Hibb. Lect., p. 478). Have we here a trace of primitive polyandry, or is this a mythological commonplace handed on unthinkingly

from one storyteller to another?

I have only been able to deal, and that slightly, with a very few of the many interesting features presented by this tale. An exhaustive and adequate commentary would swell the pamphlet to treble its present size. Meanwhile, we must be Celtic scholars are far too apt to thankful for the translation. waste their energies upon grammatical and metrical refinements, or upon the Christian literature of the mediæval Irish, the interest of which is altogether secondary. It is the heroic sagas and the archaic customals of the Irish which make their early literature the most valuable and instructive of any modern European race; accurate and entire renderings of these it is that are asked for from Celtic scholars by every student of the past, whether of manners or arts, of beliefs or customs, for no other class of documents supplies more genuine information respecting the early social condition of the race.

ALFRED NUTT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

[Supra, p. 1.]

SIR,—I regret that Mr. Jacobs in his article on Biblical Archæology has scarcely done justice to the Palestine Exploration Fund in a few passages. He does not seem well acquainted with their more serious efforts, such as the *Memoirs of the Survey*, etc. It is true we have only a few Hebrew inscriptions, though I think the Moabite stone might have been mentioned, and the tomb texts which I have described in *Syrian Stone Lore*, as well as all the Phoenician texts and certain seals not mentioned by Mr. Jacobs, which, together with uninscribed monuments, make up a respectable total. He says nothing of the "Hittite monuments" of Syria, concerning which, on the 26th, I read a further paper to the Anthropological Institute.

Again, he is rather hard as to geographical discoveries. The 1,500 names include Bible names in Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, Chaldea, Persia, Egypt, but the P. E. F. work is confined to Palestine. In Western Palestine there are only about 800 names at most, and 400 of these were known before the survey. I think 140 in addition was by no means a meagre result, especially as the boundaries of tribes and provinces have also been defined. The new departure of the P. E. F. will, I hope, lead to some results of much interest; but I think, in such a review, notice might have been taken of the curious rude stone monuments discovered by the explorers in such numbers and described in their publications. Also of the folk-lore and superstitions recorded in the *Memoirs*, and the accounts of the peasant life and customs. As regards eating the hare, for instance (p. 16), it has been noted that it is not eaten by either Jews, Christians, or Arabs in Palestine; and many survivals of the old paganism of Palestine have been recorded by this Society.

As there is, I think, no institution that has done as much as the P. E. Fund for Palestine Archæology, I do not see why its labours should be minimised. The very idea of studying the Old Testament independently, by monumental evidence, as a check on critical exegesis, has been the outcome of Palestine exploration, and has hardly been accepted even now as the method which is to be most important in the future.

C. R. CONDER.

A JEW FINANCES THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

SIR,—In my article on "Jews in the Pipe Rolls of the Twelfth Century" (Arch. Rev., Feb. 1889, vol. ii, p. 399), there is an item, the full significance of which escaped me at the time of going to press. It is No. 16, and runs as follows:

"Josce, Jew of Gloucester, owes 100 shillings for an amerciament for the moneys which he lent to those who against the king's prohibition went over to Ireland. 16 Hen. II (1169-70)."

This is clearly a reference to Strongbow's expedition in August 1170, which resulted in the conquest of Waterford and Dublin, and roused Henry's fears that Richard of Striguil would create an independent kingdom in Ireland. The expedition would have been impossible without financial help, for Richard had no independent means, and William of Newburgh (ed. Howlett, Rolls Series, i, 167-8) states that his chief motive in going to Ireland was to escape from his creditors. "He went in defiance of an express prohibition from Henry; and it was on hearing of his victories-i.e., some time in the latter part of 1170-that Henry confiscated his estates" (Miss Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings, ii, 103; cf. Barnard, Strongbow's Conquest of Ireland, p. 40). aid of Josce he could not have gone, and the whole incident affords another illustration of "the economic interpretation of history". It also shows how important it was for the king to have absolute control of the transactions of the Jews, the only bankers by whom great enterprises could be financed. JOSEPH JACOBS.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

The following letter has been distributed among gentlemen likely to be interested:—

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW, 270, STRAND.

DEAR SIR,—We are desirous of learning the amount of destruction of Ancient Monuments that is going on in the country, and venture to appeal to you to answer, from your intimate knowledge of the archæology of your county, the following questions:

(1) What tumuli, or other stone monuments, have been recently

removed or destroyed?

(2) What churches have been "restored"?

(3) What historic monuments are being left exposed to the weather without protection?

(4) What records, county and parish, are being left uncared for?

Kindly mention in each case any details which have come under your notice. Any use that will be made of your replies will be authenticated by your name, unless you express a wish to the contrary.

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

G. L. GOMME, Editor.

If any reader of the *Archæological Review* would kindly send answers to the above questions, the Editor will be grateful.

All communications should be directed to "The Editor, Archaelogical Review", 270, Strand, W.C.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected MSS. unless a stamped directed envelope is sent for that purpose.